

Proceedings 2005

Selected Papers from the
Ninth College-Wide Conference
for Students in Languages, Linguistics & Literature

University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

edited by Hunter Hatfield & Annie Tremblay

published by



© 2005 [College of Languages, Linguistics & Literature](http://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/handle/10125/9195), University of Hawai'i at Mānoa
Some rights reserved. See: <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>

Past proceedings in this series are archived in <http://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/handle/10125/9195>

CONTENTS

Preface	iii
I. COGNITION AND THE SECOND LANGUAGE	
THE COGNITIVE MECHANISM OF SHADOWING: TRAINING THE PHONOLOGICAL LOOP <i>Yukiko Watanabe, Department of Second Language Studies</i>	3
RETHINKING L2 WORKING MEMORY CAPACITY: HOW DOES L2 WORKING MEMORY RELATE TO L2 READING SKILL? <i>Min-Young Son, Department of Second Language Studies</i>	9
II. DISCOURSE AND INTONATION	
JOSHUA STEELE 1775: SPEECH INTONATION AND MUSIC TONALITY <i>Hunter Hatfield, Department of Linguistics</i>	21
TOPICAL FILTER: A NEW APPROACH TO TOPIC CONTINUITY IN CONVERSATION COHERENCE <i>Pingli Wang, Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures</i>	28
WHAT IS BEHIND SEXY PICTURES IN LOW-CUT DRESSES? A CASE STUDY OF CDA AND GENDER DISCRIMINATION <i>Jincao Yu, Department of Linguistics</i>	33
III. LITERATURE	
CRYING INNOCENT: LAMENT IN <i>GENJI</i> AND <i>JOB</i> <i>Lina J. Terrell, Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures</i>	45
MASTER AND SLAVE IN KAWABATA'S <i>YUKIGUNI</i> <i>Josh Petitto, Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures</i>	49
"TO A NOSE" AS A "PANOPTICON" OF THE JEWS IN SPAIN <i>Elena Villa Fernández de Castro, Department of Languages and Literatures of Europe and the Americas</i>	53
UNA TRILOGÍA PARA UN NUEVO ESTABLECIMIENTO DE LA IDENTIDAD FLAMENCA <i>Keiko Shinozuka, Department of Languages and Literatures of Europe and the Americas</i>	64
IV. SYNTAX	
PASSIVE SYSTEM IN CHINESE DIALECTS—XIANG, MIN, AND YUE <i>Jia-Yin Chen, Department of Linguistics</i>	73
POLYSEMY OF CAUSATIVE AND PASSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS <i>Kyuseek Hwang, Department of Linguistics</i>	80
SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS AND TELICITY IN MANDARIN <i>Jonathan Smith, Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures</i>	91

V. TEACHING SECOND LANGUAGES

THE EFFECTS OF TEXT AND QUESTION TYPE ON ESL LISTENING COMPREHENSION

99

Sumi Chang, Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures

SOCIALIZATION INTO L2 ACADEMIC CULTURE THROUGH THE LEADING OF DISCUSSION CIRCLES

107

Ave Rannik, Department of Second Language Studies

ABOUT THE CONTRIBUTORS

119

ABOUT THE EDITORS

121

PREFACE

Hunter Hatfield, Ph.D. Student in Linguistics

Annie Tremblay, Ph.D. Student in Second Language Studies

On April 12, 2005, the College of Languages, Linguistics, and Literature of the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa held its ninth annual conference for graduate students. The event gathered graduate students and faculty members from the Departments of East Asian Languages and Literatures, Languages and Literatures of Europe and the Americas, Linguistics, and Second Language Studies. The conference opened with a welcome word from Dean Joseph H. O'Mealy, followed by opening remarks from Dr. Byron Bender, emeritus professor in the Linguistics Department and member of the Board of Regents. Both speakers acknowledged the remarkable work presented each year at the conference and emphasized its importance to the development of scholars. The opening remarks were followed by presentations in five thematic sessions: literature, psycholinguistics, second language acquisition, sociolinguistics and identity, and syntax and prosody. Of the 26 papers presented at the conference, 14 are included in the proceedings.

On behalf of the College of Languages, Linguistics, and Literature, we would like to thank all student and faculty volunteers who devoted their time and efforts to making the conference a success. In particular, we would like to thank the conference organizers, Amy Healey and Jason Jackson, and their faculty advisor, Professor Justin Ota, without whom the conference would not have been possible. We are also grateful to the abstract readers, publicity and liaison volunteers, program designer, audio-visual organizer, food and beverage organizers, panel moderators, and all on-site volunteers for their assistance before and during the conference.

The editors would like to express many thanks to Dean O'Mealy and his staff for their constant help in the preparation of these proceedings. Specifically, we are grateful to Iris E. Chang and her assistants, Naomi Ng, Thomas Nozaki, Janssen M. West, and Dale Yasunaga, for guiding us through the publishing process. We would also like to thank the editors of last year's proceedings, Laura L. Clarito and Treela B. McKamey, for providing us with useful tips on the preparation of these proceedings. We are also very grateful to Keli E. Houston who assisted us in the editing process. Finally, we would like to thank the contributors for their patience during the editing process. We hope that our contributions to their work have been valuable.

I. Cognition and the Second Language

THE COGNITIVE MECHANISM OF SHADOWING: TRAINING THE PHONOLOGICAL LOOP

Yukiko Watanabe, Department of Second Language Studies

ABSTRACT

This paper proposes a cognitive mechanism during shadowing (an immediate repetition of verbal information) from a capacity-limited working memory perspective proposed by Baddeley and Hitch (1974). The proposed shadowing model describes how shadowing speech enhances second language learners' ability to attend to the verbal input and hold more information for further processing.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Recently, shadowing has been introduced in second language teaching in Japan as an effective technique to improve listening skills (Murphy, 2001; Tamai, 1995). But how and why is this technique useful? Drawing on Baddeley and his colleagues' multi-component working memory (WM) model (Baddeley, 1986; Baddeley & Hitch, 1974; Gathercole & Baddeley, 1993), particularly the relationship between the Visuo-Spatial Sketch Pad (VSSP) and the Phonological Loop (PL), we can explain the underlying mechanism of shadowing. The paper addresses the function of WM in shadowing training to enhance verbal recall in both auditory and visual modes, and proposes a cognitive model of shadowing.

2.0. SHADOWING

In our daily life, we often repeat phone numbers or confirmation numbers consciously in our head or even verbalize the numbers in order to hold the information in our mind. If we fail to repeat the numbers and keep on talking, sometimes we have to ask the interlocutor to repeat the numbers again. In shadowing¹, one repeats the incoming message word by word as immediately as possible in order to hold the information longer. Lambert (1998) describes shadowing as follows:

[A] paced auditory tracking task which involves the immediate vocalization of auditory presented stimuli, i.e. word-for-word repetition in the same language, parrot-style, of a message presented through headphones. This technique is usually part of the training method employed with beginner interpreters who first need to learn to listen and speak simultaneously, before attempting to interpret. (p. 381)

In everyday conversation, we repeat others' speech in our heads, which is called "articulatory rehearsal" or "subvocalization," to hold the acoustic information in our phonological memories. In shadowing, this inner voice is vocalized explicitly and receives a great deal of attention. However, shadowing is not merely a mechanical "parrot-style" procedure as Lambert (1998) suggests (Tamai, 1995). It involves a complex cognitive process. In my view, shadowing is the act of listening attentively to the incoming auditory information in which the learner tracks the heard speech and repeats it as accurately as possible. In order to further understand the mechanism of shadowing at the cognitive level, a WM model is adopted in this paper. Daro and Fabbro (1994) combined Tulving's (1987) long term memory (LTM) system with Baddeley's (1990) WM model to establish a cause-and-effect relationship between phonological interference and verbal recall. The next section explains in detail the cognitive framework for the shadowing model I address.

3.0. MULTI-COMPONENT WORKING MEMORY MODEL

The notion that WM is involved in written and spoken language comprehension has received much attention in cognitive psychology and second language acquisition research. Baddeley and his colleagues' (Baddeley, 1978, 1986, 1990; Baddeley & Hitch, 1974; Gathercole & Baddeley, 1993) original multi-component WM has been particularly influential in stimulating psychological research on how humans process, retain, and retrieve information. Baddeley and Hitch's (1974) multi-component WM model evolved from the notion of short term memory, not only as a temporary storage, but also as a work space that carries out various cognitive operations. The original multi-component model claimed that WM is composed of two slave systems, the VSSP and PL, which are controlled by the Central Executive (CE).

3.1 The Components and Functions

The function of the CE is to process new information in the VSSP and PL, to act as an attention controller, selecting certain streams of incoming information and rejecting others, and to coordinate relevant incoming information with LTM (Baddeley, 2003). The VSSP “serves the function of integrating spatial, visual, and possibly kinesthetic information into a unified representation which may be temporarily stored and manipulated” (Baddeley, 2000, p. 200). Logie (1995) specified the inner system of the VSSP as comprised of two elements: the “visual cache,” which is the memory storage function, and the “inner scribe,” which manipulates and transforms the contents of the visual cache to rehearse and refresh them.

Phonological information is coded by the phonological analysis component in LTM and is maintained by two sub-components, the phonological short term store and the PL. The first subcomponent, the phonological short term store, can hold traces of acoustic or speech-based material. Material in this short term store lasts about two seconds unless it is maintained through the use of the second subcomponent, the PL (articulatory subvocal rehearsal subcomponent), which covertly rehearses the auditory information (Baddeley, 1990). Repetition of information can be either in overt or covert speech. In shadowing, one explicitly trains to repeat the incoming stream of speech overtly and also monitors one’s speech for further understanding.

Figure 1 shows the latest multi-component model proposed by Baddeley (2003), which adds an episodic buffer to the WM “capable [of combining] information from a number of different sources into chunks or episodes” (p. 203). This illustration seems to be misleading, in that access to the crystallized system (LTM) is only through the three WM components: the VSSP, the episodic buffer, and the PL. The CE does not seem to play a role in retrieving information from the crystallized system. Although Gathercole and Baddeley (1993) claimed that the CE is involved in processing syntactic and semantic information and in storing them during comprehension, the allocation of the attention of the CE to stored linguistic information in LTM is not depicted in Baddeley’s (2003) model. The process of comprehending the incoming information by matching it with the activated existing knowledge in LTM on multiple levels (phonological, lexical, syntactic, and world knowledge) and by holding the matched information in WM for later higher cognitive activity has to be depicted.

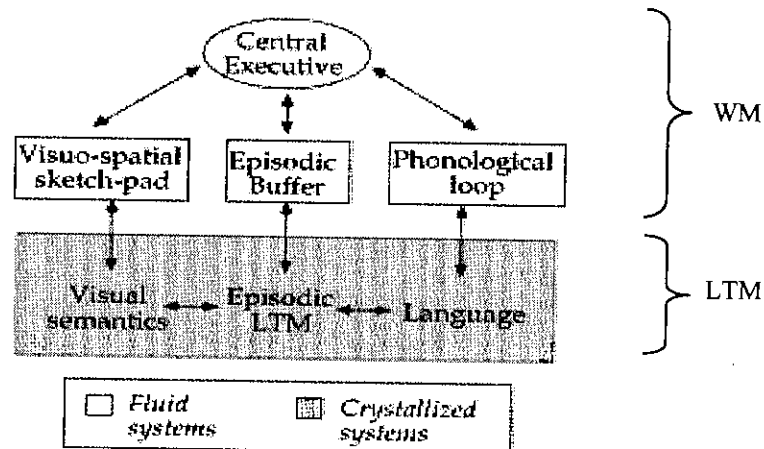


Figure 1. Baddeley's latest multi-component model. Reprinted from Baddeley (2003, p. 203, Figure 6).

In the WM model, the shadowing training is assumed to increase the PL capacity and allows one to expand the amount of information to be held. According to Gathercole and Baddeley (1993), short sentences are processed immediately (online), but for long and complex sentences, the PL is needed to hold information for latter (offline) analysis. For second language (L2) speakers, short and simple sentences may require the use of the PL to hold information from previously heard/read material. For language learning, the PL is especially useful for listening and may also indirectly affect reading due to the interaction of the PL and VSSP.

3.2. Interaction of the PL and VSSP

It is known that WM capacity plays a role in any cognitive task, including reading and listening comprehension (Daneman & Merinkle, 1996; Gathercole & Baddeley, 1993; Just & Carpenter, 1980; Kintsch & van Dijk, 1978). In reading, in addition to the graphical image of the word, the sentence, and/or the page, orthographical information is phonologically coded and maintained in the phonological store.

There is also physical evidence for the use of the PL while reading. During silent reading, the electromyogram, a graphic record of the electrical activity of the muscles attached to the articulatory organs (chin, lip, and larynx), shows a larger muscle movement and an increase in breathing rate compared to the resting condition (McGuigan, Keller, & Stanton, 1964). Also, McGuigan (1970) researched similar findings across 27 studies that show the internal processing of information by covert oral response. Subvocalization during silent reading indicates the use of a phonologically related system to code orthographic information to phonological information and to store it in the phonological short term store for later use. Besner, Davies, and Daniels (1981) also indicated that the concurrent articulation of difficult texts, which requires elaborate processing, is important for reading comprehension. This means that while reading, there is phonological information stored in the WM along with orthographic representations.

3.3. Limited Capacity of the PL

Baddeley, Thomson, and Buchanan (1975) suggested that short term memory is limited by time rather than limited by the number of chunks, as Miller (1956) had claimed. They found that there is a linear relationship between articulatory rate (speech rate) and immediate memory. The greater the number of syllables, the more difficult they are to memorize. The participants were able to recall the number of items that they could repeat within 2.0 seconds. Similar findings were reported by Schweickert and Boruff (1986). They found that the auditory input will vanish in approximately 1.8 seconds if there is no manipulation, but it can be held longer if it is subvocalized. Prevention of articulatory rehearsal will result in very rapid forgetting. Thus, successfully subvocalized information may be retained in the PL. Specifically, any information unit that can be rehearsed within 1.8 seconds will be retained. The faster the items can be rehearsed, the more items participants can hold in phonological memory. Hulme and Mackenzie (1992) used the following formula to estimate the capacity of the rehearsal loop.

$$\begin{aligned}\text{Words held on loop} &= \text{Length of loop} \times \text{speech rate} \\ \text{Words} &= T \text{ seconds} \times \text{words per second}\end{aligned}$$

The length of the phonological loop, T, differs from researcher to researcher, but averages 1.8 seconds. Using this value and the given formula, we can calculate the number of items presumably to be rehearsed in the phonological loop (Tamai, 1995). Standing, Bond, Smith, and Isely (1980) found that memory span was closely related to subvocalization rate. Given this apparently trustworthy finding based on native (L1) speakers, it is interesting to see how L2 speakers' phonological capacity relates to their L2 performance. Tamai (1995) found a gain in the articulation rate as well as in the listening comprehension test when L2 learners were trained in listening using the shadowing technique.

4.0. COGNITIVE MECHANISM OF SHADOWING

Based on the multi-component WM model, this section proposes a cognitive model of shadowing. Daro and Fabbro (1994) introduced a memory model during simultaneous interpretation which distinguishes WM, the translation system, from LTM. In their model, the input (the source language) is stored in WM as the subvocal rehearsal is activated. The stored information is further analyzed by the functional system accounting for translation from L2 to L1 or from L1 into L2. At the same time, the necessary information from the procedural, semantic, and episodic memory is plugged into the translation system for analysis of the source language and formulation of the target language. In their model, the VSSP is not utilized during simultaneous interpretation.

However, the interaction between the PL and VSSP cannot be ignored as is often described in reading studies. The same interaction effect can be seen for listening, especially if the verbal material is a narrative or a description. We can thus assume that the VSSP will be interacting during processing. Let's say one hears a sentence such as "Alice is lying on a beautiful white sand beach, enjoying the sound of the waves." One can imagine the scene, extracting the propositions from the declarative memory and also situation from the episodic memory if one had a similar experience. The visual information will then be stored in the visual cache in the VSSP.

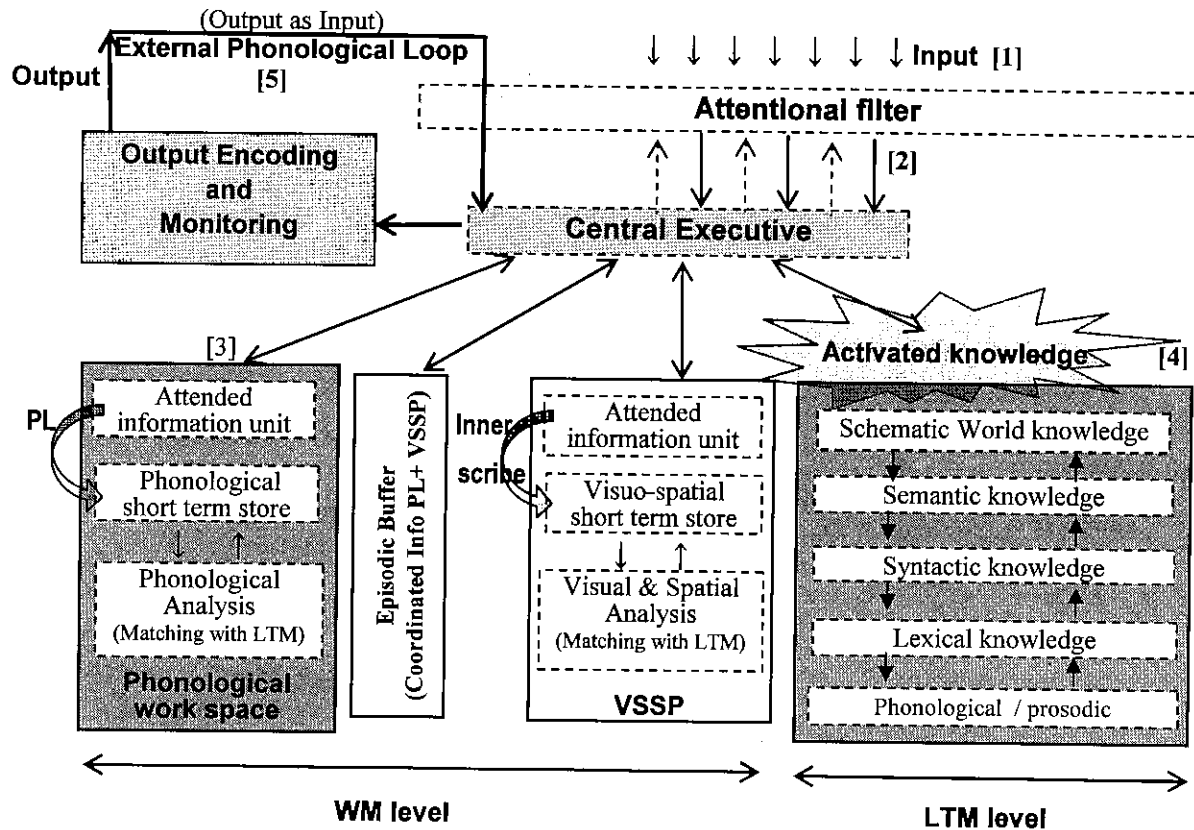


Figure 2. A memory model during shadowing

Figure 2 depicts the cognitive mechanism of shadowing proposed in this paper. The incoming speech is attended by the control of the central executive [1]. Attending to input is usually considered a passive behavior, but by utilizing LTM to predict and infer the upcoming stimuli, one can specifically attend to or select relevant information. Along with the selected information, there will also be peripheral information coming in [2]. The attended speech input is stored for a short time (1.8 sec) in the phonological loop and will be held as long as it is repeated [3]. During phonological analysis, the bottom-up processing and top-down processing work in parallel to reach an understanding. The detected phonemes are first combined to be recognized (matching with phonological knowledge) as words (matching with lexical knowledge), and string of words will be understood as a sentence by the help of prosodic information and syntactic knowledge (bottom-up). The top down processing will utilize contextual information, referential information (this involves the VSSP if the referent is from the real-space object/person), and schematic knowledge to infer the meaning [4]. During the comprehension process, one may transfer the recognized bits of information into VSSP via CE so that one will utilize the image. This is the process involved in normal speech comprehension system.

In addition to this system, in shadowing, there is an output-monitor system [5] where one listens to one's shadowed speech. This way, shadowing is considered as an *externally verbalized phonological loop*. By monitoring one's own speech, the attended information is matched with the phonological and lexical information in LTM, and (noticed) information refreshes the phonological short-term memory. The following cognitive processes are involved during shadowing: (a) phonetic stimuli are registered into the sensory filter; (b) attended stimuli are coded into phonetic information by retrieving phonetic information from LTM; (c) the coded information is further analyzed for lexical items by retrieving lexical information from LTM; (d) once stimuli are recognized as words, one will repeat those strings of words verbally as output; (e) the repeated speech comes in as input to match the information previously held in the phonological short term memory. This refreshes the information and allows it to be held longer than 1.8 seconds. Shadowing is an on-going activity that occurs simultaneously while information coming into WM is attended to as well.

From the above shadowing model, an experimental study that confirms the effect of shadowing on the PL was conducted (see Watanabe, 2004a, 2004b for details). The shadowing treatment had a positive effect on the articulation rate and the amount of information to be recalled in digit span test and paragraph level recall. Shadowing treatment will enhance articulation speed by encouraging learners to link sounds and practice articulation at the rate of approximately 130 word per minute. The faster the articulation, the more information participants are able to store in the PL. Moreover, practicing the external phonological loop will increase the possibility for further analysis. Once one can recall more words, one will be able to utilize that information for constructing a sentence and meaning. Moreover, if learners are able to recall sentences better, they may also be able to do better on comprehension tests.

5.0. CONCLUSION

Listening comprehension is actually an active skill that requires holding the auditory information in order to understand the utterance (Call, 1985), since the input speech comes in and fades out easily. As Baddeley (1986) claims, phonological rehearsal is active even during non-speech input (reading the text silently for example), so that the input can be held in the phonological store. Thus, in addition to the listening comprehension, it can be assumed that the shadowing training will have a positive effect on reading comprehension. We can assume that L2 speakers who can utilize the PL effectively can do better in listening and reading tests. From a pedagogical perspective, second and foreign language learners can maximize the capacity of the PL by shadowing and may benefit from being able to hold more information by explicitly using the PL and also utilizing the VSSP. In addition, if efficiency of processing the verbal information is added onto shadowing training, it will be effective for L2 speakers to gain their understanding by attending to more information than before and utilizing that information for intake.

NOTES

- * I would like address special thanks to Dr. Craig Chaudron and Dr. John Norris for their insightful guidance on my research and patient consultation. I also appreciate the suggestions and encouragement offered by Dr. Tim Murphy. The empirical research based on the model I propose was generated in SLS 673 and further developed in SLS 750 as a class project. I would like to thank my colleagues in those classes for all the helpful comments and supportive opinions, and especially Adam Pang and Treela McKamey for their invaluable comments on an earlier draft of this paper.
- 1 Simultaneous interpreters use the shadowing technique to get used to the dual tasks: listening to natural speech and transforming the source language to the target language. Simultaneous interpretation is a complex cognitive activity in which the function of memory plays a great role in completing the task (Daro & Fabbro, 1994). Simultaneous interpretation requires (1) attention to the source language (input), (2) holding acoustic input in memory, (3) understanding the meaning of the coded information, (4) translating the information into the target language, and (5) coding the translated information into phonetic information as output in the target language. Shadowing involves the first two steps of simultaneous interpretation.

WORKS CITED

- Baddeley, A. D. (1978). The trouble with levels: A reexamination of Craik and Lockhart's framework for memory research. *Psychological Review*, 85, 139–252.
- Baddeley, A. D. (1986). *Working memory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Baddeley, A. D. (1990). The development of the concept of working memory: Implications and contributions of neuropsychology. In G. Vallar & T. Shallice (Eds.), *Neuropsychological impairments of short-term memory* (pp. 54–73). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Baddeley, A. D. (2000). The episodic buffer: A new component of working memory? *Trends in Cognitive Sciences*, 4, 417–423.
- Baddeley, A. (2003). Working memory and language: An overview. *Journal of Communication Disorders*, 36, 189–208.
- Baddeley, A. D., & Hitch, G. (1974). Working memory. In G. H. Bower (Ed.), *The psychology of learning and motivation* (pp. 47–89). New York: Academic Press.
- Baddeley, A., Thomson, N., & Buchanan, M. (1975). Word length and the structure of short term memory. *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behaviour*, 14, 575–589.
- Besner, D., Davies, J., & Daniels, S. (1981). Reading for meaning: The effects of concurrent articulation. *Quarterly Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 33A, 415–437.

- Call, M. E. (1985). Auditory short-term memory: Listening comprehension, and the input hypothesis. *TESOL Quarterly*, 19, 765–781.
- Daneman, M., & Merinkle, P. M. (1996). Working memory and language comprehension: A meta-analysis. *Psychonomic Bulletin & Review*, 3, 422–433.
- Daro, V., & Fabbro, F. (1994). Verbal memory during simultaneous interpretation: Effects of phonological interference. *Applied Linguistics*, 15, 365–381.
- Gathercole, S., & Baddeley, A. D. (1993). *Working memory and language*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Hulme, D. and Mackenzie, S. (1992). *Working memory and severe learning difficulties*. East Sussex: Lawrence and Erlbaum.
- Just, M. A., & Carpenter, P. A. (1992). A capacity theory of comprehension: Individual differences in working memory. *Psychological Review*, 99, 122–149.
- Kintsch, W., & van Dijk, T. A. (1978). Toward a model of text comprehension. *Psychological Review*, 85, 363–394.
- Lambert, S. (1988). A human information processing and cognitive approach to the training of simultaneous interpreters. In D. L. Hammond (Ed.), *Languages at crossroads: Proceedings of the 29th Annual Conference of the American Translators Association* (pp. 379–388). Medford, NJ: Learned Information Inc.
- Logie, R. H. (1995). *Visuo-spatial working memory*. Hove, UK: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- McGuigan, F. J. (1970). Covert oral behavior during the silent performance of language tasks. *Psychological Bulletin*, 74, 309–326.
- McGuigan, F. J., Keller, B., & Stanton, E. (1964). Covert language responses during silent reading. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 55, 339–343.
- Miller, G. A. (1956). The magical number 7, plus or minus 2: Some limits on our capacity for processing information. *Psychological Review*, 63, 81–97.
- Murphy, T. (2001). Exploring conversational shadowing. *Language Teaching Research*, 5(2), 128–155.
- Schweickert, R., & Boruff, B. (1986). Short-term memory capacity: Magic number or magic spell? *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory and Cognition*, 12, 419–425.
- Standing, L., Bond, B., Smith, P., & Isely, C. (1980). Is the immediate memory span determined by subvocalization rate? *British Journal of Psychology*, 71, 525–539.
- Tamai, K. (1995). *Listening toshitenno shadowing no koukani kannsuru kennkyu*. [Shadowing as a method of developing listening skill.] Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Kobe, Hyogo.
- Tulving, E. (1987). Multiple memory systems and consciousness. *Human Neurobiology*, 6, 67–80.
- Watanabe, Y. (2004a). The effect of shadowing on the phonological loop: Is shadowing an effective tool for verbal recall? Ms., University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.
- Watanabe, Y. (2004b). Operationalizing working memory: The capacity and processing of visuo-spatial sketch pad and phonological loop in L2 working memory measurements. Ms., University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.

RETHINKING L2 WORKING MEMORY CAPACITY: HOW DOES L2 WORKING MEMORY RELATE TO L2 READING SKILL?

Min-Young Son, Department of Second Language Studies

ABSTRACT

This paper, a partial replication and extension of Harrington and Sawyer's 1992 study, investigates individual working memory capacity differences among advanced second language (L2) learners of English in relationship to their reading skill. The study found that L2 learners with larger L2 working memory capacity outperformed those with lesser capacity on measures of reading skill. The study also suggests the importance of L1 working memory capacity as a predictor of success in L2 learning. Indeed, L2 working memory capacity is a critical indicator of individual differences in L2 reading skills. Therefore, further investigation of its pedagogical applicability would be worthwhile.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

In recent years, there has been considerable interest in the contribution of working memory to language development (e.g., Gathercole, 1994; Gathercole & Baddeley, 1993). Working memory capacity refers to the ability of "immediate memory processes" involving both the simultaneous storage and processing of information (Harrington & Sawyer, 1992, p. 26). While this notion is often taken for granted, working memory is indeed closely involved in a broad range of our daily cognitive activities such as memorizing simple digits, following lengthy directions or conversations, and solving multi-step math problems. It is frequently asserted that the comprehension of both written and spoken language depends on some form of working memory (e.g., Baddeley, 1986), since the comprehension of language involves both processing and storage. Functional deficits of working memory have been reported to cause significant problems in listening and/or speaking, and especially in reading (e.g., Andrade, 2001; Baddeley, 1986). The construct of working memory capacity has thus been invoked to explain and measure individual differences in reading comprehension (e.g., Daneman & Tardif, 1987), which requires higher order cognitive skills.

The present study is a partial replication and extension of Harrington and Sawyer's 1992 study, "Second language (L2) working memory capacity and L2 reading skill," which investigated individual working memory capacity differences among advanced L2 learners of English in relationship to their reading comprehension. First, I will address theoretical issues involving the structure and functions of working memory in relation to processing in reading. The reading span test designed to measure working memory capacity will also be discussed. Then, I will describe the methodology and procedures used in three experiments, followed by a discussion of the results. I will conclude by assessing the limitations of the present study as well as the theoretical and practical implications of the results related to working memory and reading comprehension in L2 acquisition pedagogy.

2.0. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

In terms of interactive models of language processing, clear differences have been observed between skilled and unskilled L2 readers (e.g., Rumelhart, 1977). Skilled readers automatically use bottom-up processes (i.e., text-driven) to a greater degree, which allow the readers to allocate more resources to top-down processes (i.e., concept-driven) (Shiffrin, & Schneider, 1977). The initial process of accurate, rapid, and automatic recognition of words frees up the reader's mind so that attention can be devoted to other simultaneous processes involving higher order knowledge structures (schemata) and meta-cognitive abilities (Day & Bamford, 1998; Harrington & Sawyer, 1992). Perfetti (1985) believed that since these processes take place partly within a limited-resource processing mechanism (McLaughlin & Heredia, 1996; McLeod & McLaughlin, 1986), also called working memory, an inefficient lexical access, which is slow and demanding, makes it more difficult for the reader to hold propositions in working memory (Just & Carpenter, 1980; Kintsch & van Dijk, 1978). In other words, if the reader fails to hold the clause or sentence in working memory long enough to construct meaning, his or her comprehension can consequently be severely disrupted (Day & Bamford, 1998). Therefore, some researchers have claimed that working memory capacity is the primary source of individual differences in cognitive abilities outside of domain-specific knowledge differences (e.g., Baddeley, 1986; Baddeley & Hitch, 1974; Kyllonen & Christal, 1990). Greater working memory size may be an advantage in foreign language learning (Skehan, 1989). The role of a limited-capacity memory is evidenced in three stages of information

processing: input, central processing, and output. The limitations of working memory place a fundamental constraint on how the input is handled in language learning (Skehan, 1998). It is assumed that good readers have more efficient skills, which allow more capacity to be devoted to the storage of partial products of the reading task. That is, the more efficient processes of the good reader could be functionally equivalent to a larger storage capacity. On the other hand, the poor readers' less efficient processes would appear as equivalent to a smaller storage capacity. The "trade-off between active processing and storage" in working memory (Daneman & Carpenter, 1980, p. 451) has been viewed as a potential source of individual differences in reading skill (e.g., Baddeley, Logie, Nimmo-Smith, & Brereton, 1985; Daneman & Carpenter, 1983; Daneman & Tardif, 1987; Daneman & Merikle, 1996; Engle, Cantor, & Carullo, 1992; Harrington & Sawyer, 1992; Mackey, Philp, Egi, Fujii, & Tarcumu, 2002; Turner & Engle, 1989).

Relating individual differences in working memory capacity to reading abilities requires that we be able to measure each individual's working memory capacity. Empirical support for the role of working memory in skilled reading has come from several correlational studies in which working memory capacity is assessed by variants of the *reading span test (or task)*. This is a test devised by Daneman and Carpenter (1980) to tax both the processing and storage functions of working memory rather than just the storage functions, as traditional digit span and word span tests do. In the reading span test, participants were given increasingly longer sets of unrelated sentences to read aloud. At the end of each set, they attempted to recall the final word of each sentence in the set. The number of sentence-final words recalled was assumed to reflect the efficiency with which the individual could process and comprehend the sentences. A wealth of studies to date in both first language (L1) and L2 have identified close links between this reading span measure of working memory and individual differences in reading comprehension (e.g., Daneman & Carpenter, 1980, 1983; Daneman & Merikle, 1996; Harrington & Sawyer, 1992; Masson & Miller, 1983; Miyake & Friedman, 1998; Osaka & Osaka, 1992; Osaka, Osaka, & Groner, 1993).

Notably, Harrington and Sawyer's (1992) study has drawn tremendous attention for its pioneering role in the research addressing L2 working memory issues. Harrington and Sawyer found that individual differences in L2 reading skill are highly correlated with L2 working memory span, at least among relatively advanced adult L2 learners. It was also shown that there is a moderate correlation between L1 and L2 working memory ($r = .39, p < .005$). Given the scarcity of relevant studies in the field, Harrington and Sawyer's study deserves more replications with more refined methodological approaches as well as with participants with various backgrounds. The current study was undertaken in order to determine whether the findings of previous studies can be replicated with a similar methodology and with L2 learners in different L1–L2 constellations.

3.0. EXPERIMENT 1

The purpose of this study is therefore to test the extent to which differences in L2 reading skill can reliably be related to differences in L2 working memory capacity. The first experiment attempts to answer the question, "Is there a possible relationship between L2 working memory capacity and L2 reading comprehension?" by employing the reading span test. While Harrington and Sawyer's study examined the reading skills of Japanese L2 learners of English, the current research assesses Korean L2 learners of English's reading comprehension. The simple span tests (i.e., digit span test, word span test) are also included in the study in order to provide a form of discriminant validity for the reading span test as a measure of active storage (Daneman & Carpenter, 1980), as well as to assure that the results from the reading span were not due to the L2 participants being unable to perform the task because of limited English proficiency. In addition, as the study attempts to identify differences in the ability to process linguistic information and not linguistic knowledge *per se* (Harrington & Sawyer, 1992), only intermediate and advanced L2 learners were included in the research. The two hypotheses linked to the research question are:

- Hypothesis 1. Higher-level second language readers have larger L2 working memory capacity.
- Hypothesis 2. Lower-level second language readers have smaller L2 working memory capacity.

3.1. Method of Experiment 1

3.1.1. Participants

Seventeen students at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa whose L1 was Korean participated in this study. Fifteen were enrolled in graduate programs and two were undergraduate students. With three exceptions, the participants were all female and ranged from 23 to 41 years of age ($M = 25.88$). They came from a variety of academic backgrounds, including linguistics, second language studies (SLS), Asian studies, anthropology, and biology. The participants' reported computer-based (CBT) TOEFL scores ranging from 230 (paper-based (PBT) TOEFL = 570) to 267 (PBT = 630), with an average of 254 (PBT = 612).

3.1.2. Materials

Materials for the study consisted of a battery of memory tests in both Korean and English, and a set of measures indexing L2 reading proficiency. Three memory tests were used: digit span, word span, and reading span. Both the Korean and English digit span tests consisted of six sets of two strings of random digits, for a total of 78 digits. The shortest set consisted of two four-digit strings. The length of each string increased by one digit per set, with the last set comprising two nine-digit strings (Miller, 1956). The digits were presented digit by digit, which made it impossible for the participants to chunk the numbers in order to remember them. Second, the Korean and English word span tests involved a total of 50 words, which were unrelated simple nouns, in five sets of two strings of words. The shortest set consisted of two three-word strings. The length of each string increased by one word per set, with the last set being composed of two seven-word strings. Finally, the L1 and L2 reading span tests each consisted of 28 sentences. Each sentence consisted of simple, active words, 10–12 in length, and ended with a different word. The sentences were presented in sets of increasing size, starting with two sentences per set and extending up to five sentences per set. A grammaticality judgment task was incorporated in the L2 reading span test to ensure that the participants were reading and processing for meaning without focusing only on the retention of recall items. Of the entire test set, half of the sentences were grammatically correct and half were not. Grammatically correct sentences made sense semantically and syntactically (e.g., *The season that people often associate with love is spring*); ungrammatical sentences were generated by reversing the last four to six pre-terminal words (e.g., *The woman screamed and slapped man the old in the face*).

3.1.3. Procedure

Each of the three sets of memory tests was administered individually and introduced to the participants with detailed instructions. In the digit and word span tests, each participant would listen to the tape and at each prompt, write down on the answer sheet what he or she could recall. With respect to the reading span test, the test sentences were presented on 5×7.5-inch index cards, with one sentence per card. The participants were asked to read aloud the sentences, and at the end of each set of sentences, they were presented with a prompt to recall the sentence-final word for each sentence in the set. When the cue card was presented, the participant wrote down the sentence-final words on the answer sheet. The three memory tests were scored later based on answer keys and they were included in the analysis. Each correct answer was counted as one point. The L2 English reading comprehension measures consisted of the TOEFL grammar ($M = 25.88$, $SD = 2.05$) and reading scores ($M = 26.53$, $SD = 2.23$), which were obtained from each participant after performing the memory tests.

3.2. Results of Experiment 1

Table 1 presents the correlations between the L2 memory span and L2 reading scores. The results show a fairly strong correlation between the TOEFL reading score and the reading span measure ($r(15) = .68$, $p < .01$). This finding is comparable to those obtained in earlier studies with L1 participants (e.g., Daneman & Carpenter, 1980, 1983; Daneman & Merikle, 1996; Tuner & Engle, 1989) as well as L2 participants (e.g., Harrington & Sawyer, 1992; Osaka & Osaka, 1992; Osaka, Osaka, & Groner, 1993). On the other hand, while the original study showed quite a significant correlation between TOEFL grammar and L2 reading span ($r = .57$), the present study has a moderate-to-strong relationship between the two measures ($r = .48$). It is therefore presumed that the inclusion of participants' writing scores in the TOEFL grammar scores would have adversely affected the correlational relationships between the L2 memory span measures and the TOEFL grammar score.

Table 1. *Correlations between L2 Memory Span and L2 Reading Scores*

L2 Memory Span Scores	L2 Reading Scores	
	TOEFL2 (G + W)	TOEFL3 (Reading)
Digit	.19	.38
Word	.56*	.39
Reading	.48	.68*

Note: N=17, * $p < .01$.

Table 2 presents the correlations between the L1 and L2 memory span measures. While both the English digit and word span measures do not demonstrate any significant correlation with the English reading span measures ($r = .27$ and $.25$, respectively), the Korean simple span measures are fairly strongly correlated with the Korean reading span test ($r(15) = .53$ and $.49$, $p < .05$, respectively). This result is rather striking because these positive relations between L1 digit, word spans, and L1 reading span were not found in previous studies (e.g., Daneman & Carpenter, 1980; Harrington & Sawyer, 1992). The strong correlation between the L1 simple spans and the L1 reading span might reflect the participants' efficiency in processing due to their familiarity with the native language, which would allow allocation of more storage capacity in performing the L1 memory span tests.

Table 2. *Correlations between L1 and L2 Memory Span Measures*

Memory Span	Digit		Word		Reading	
	L1	L2	L1	L2	L1	L2
Digit						
L1						
L2						
Word						
L1	.66**	.10				
L2	.47*	.53*	.51*			
Reading						
L1	.53*	.36	.49*	.20		
L2	.35	.27	.18	.25	.57**	

Note: N=17, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

The correlations between the simple span measures are strong in both languages. For the Korean digit and word span tests, the correlation is significant ($r = .66$). The correlation between the L2 simple span tests also seems to be strong ($r(15) = .53$, $p < .05$). When the correlation is made across the two languages, each L1 simple span measure correlates, though less strongly, with the L2 simple spans: the Korean digit and English digit ($r(15) = .47$, $p < .05$); and the Korean word and English word ($r(15) = .51$, $p < .05$). Finally, a high correlation between the Korean reading span and the English reading span is quite noteworthy ($r(15) = .57$, $p < .01$).

In sum, Hypotheses 1 and 2, which hypothesized that there would be a positive relationship between L2 reading skills and L2 working memory capacity, were confirmed by the correlational results.

4.0. EXPERIMENT 2

The findings of Experiment 1 are significant, in that they show a potential predictive power of L2 working memory for L2 reading skills. The critical roles of L1 digit, word spans, and reading span in indicating the corresponding L2 simple spans and reading span are another key finding. Given the salient findings in the previous experiment, the current study was further extended to Experiment 2 with the goal of exploring participants with diverse L1 backgrounds. Since the participants in this sample were of varying L1 backgrounds, only L2 measures were employed. The research question and hypotheses formulated for Experiment 2 are the same as for Experiment 1 (see Section 3.0).

4.1. Method of Experiment 2

4.1.1. Participants

The participants in this study were 27 high-proficiency non-native speakers of English. Twenty-five were graduate and two were undergraduate students at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. With five exceptions, the participants were all females whose L1s were mostly Korean, Japanese, and Chinese, ranging from 23 to 41 years of age ($M = 30.26$). They came from a variety of academic backgrounds, including linguistics, SLS, Asian studies, anthropology, MBA, computer science, biology, and so forth. The participants' reported CBT TOEFL scores ranging from 230 (PBT = 570) to 300 (PBT = 677), with an average of 262 (PBT = 624).

4.1.2. Materials

The battery of memory tests for L2 English and the set of measures indexing L2 reading proficiency that were employed in Experiment 1 were used to conduct Experiment 2.

4.1.3. Procedure

A procedure similar to that in Experiment 1 was undertaken, except that only L2 memory span tests were carried out. After the individual administration of three sets of memory tests, digit and word span being auditory and reading span being visual, each participant reported his or her TOEFL grammar ($M = 26.3$, $SD = 2.1$) and reading scores ($M = 27.3$, $SD = 2.2$) either immediately following the testing or later via email.

4.2. Results of Experiment 2

Table 3 presents correlations between L2 memory span scores and L2 reading measures. The digit and word span measures, in general, did not correlate significantly with the TOEFL grammar and writing measures, the magnitude of correlations ranging from .27 to .31. By contrast, the TOEFL reading score showed a strong correlation with the L2 reading span measure ($r(25) = .59$, $p < .01$), as predicted. This result is also consistent with the previous findings in both L1 and L2 studies.

Table 3. *Correlations between L2 Memory and L2 Reading Scores*

Memory Span Scores	Reading Scores	
	TOEFL2 (G + W)	TOEFL3 (Reading)
Digit	.28	.34
Word	.31	.37
Reading	.27	.59*

Note: $N=27$, * $p < .01$.

Table 4 summarizes the correlations between the L2 memory span measures. The correlation between digit span and word span measures reaches significance ($r(25) = .56$, $p < .01$). However, the correlation of the digit and word spans with the reading span is weak-to-moderate ($r = .35$ and $.19$, respectively).

Table 4. *Correlations between L2 Memory Span Scores*

Memory Span Scores	Memory Span Scores		
	Digit	Word	Reading
Digit	—	—	—
Word	.56*	—	—
Reading	.35	.19	—

Note: $N=27$, * $p < .01$.

5.0. EXPERIMENT 3

The findings of Experiment 2 supported the hypothesis that there is a positive relationship between L2 reading comprehension proficiency and L2 working memory capacity, as evidenced by the results of the reading span test. On the other hand, the performance on the digit and word span measures turned out to bear little relationship to reading skills. The results are thus in agreement with those of Harrington and Sawyer (1992): L2 working memory capacity is reflective of L2 reading skills, but simple L2 digit and word spans are not.

However, there remains a question as to whether this lack of correlation could be due to the difference in mode of presentation between the simple span tests and the reading span test. That is, in the present study, the simple spans were presented orally, whereas the reading span test was presented visually. It may be argued that the difference between listening and reading comprehension skills would affect the disparity between the simple span and the reading span measures. Furthermore, it seems obvious that the auditory simple span tests have little to do with reading proficiency, which is clearly based on decoding and interpreting visual materials. Experiment 3 was thus undertaken to overcome the methodological limitation of the previous study and answer the research question, "to what extent does this difference in mode of presentation (auditory vs. visual) influence the results of memory span tests?" In this experiment, two visual simple span tests were devised and performed with the purpose of minimizing the methodological gap between the simple span tests and the reading span test. The following hypotheses were formulated:

Hypothesis 1. Higher-level second language listeners have larger auditory memory span.

Hypothesis 2. Lower-level second language listeners have smaller auditory memory span.

Hypothesis 3. Higher-level second language readers have larger visual memory span.

Hypothesis 4. Lower-level second language readers have smaller visual memory span.

5.1. Method of Experiment 3

5.1.1. Participants

The 27 participants who took part in Experiment 2 carried out the following experiment.

5.1.2. Materials

Materials consisted of a set of memory tests similar to the two simple spans tasks employed in Experiment 2. The digit span test consisted of six sets of two strings of random digits, totaling 78 digits. The shortest set consisted of two four-digit strings. The length of each string increased by one digit per set, the last set comprising two nine-digit strings. The word span test consisted of five sets of two strings of unrelated simple nouns. The shortest set consisted of two three-word strings. The length of each string increased by one word per set with the last set comprising two seven-word strings.

5.1.3. Procedure

The two visual simple span tests were administered individually. The digit span test was presented on 5×7.5-inch index cards, one string of digits per card. The participants read the string of digits aloud from index cards placed one at a time in front of them. When the cue card was presented, they wrote down what they could recall on the answer sheet. The reading span test was carried out in a similar manner as the digit span test. Unlike the digit span test, the participants were encouraged to recall the words without concern for the order of presentation and spelling. The participants' TOEFL listening score ($M = 25.8$, $SD = 2.35$) as a measure of L2 listening comprehension was obtained and included in the analysis so that it can be compared with the participants' performance on the auditory simple span tests performed in Experiment 2.

5.2. Results of Experiment 3

The results obtained in Experiment 2 were integrated into the analysis of Experiment 3 to investigate the relations among the variables. Table 5 presents descriptive statistics for the L2 digit and word span tests. Notably, in terms of the difference in the mean, due to the differing mode of presentation, the digit span test was much superior visually to the word span test. In the visual digit span test, one participant even scored perfect, and both minimum and maximum scores were higher than in the auditory one. A t test for dependent means yielded a significant difference between the auditory and visual digit spans ($t(26) = 12.42$, $p < .01$) and between the auditory and visual word spans ($t(26) = 3.27$, $p < .01$).

Table 5. Descriptive Statistics for L2 Simple Span Tests

Memory Span	Mode of Presentation	Mean	SD	Min	Max
Digit	Auditory	59.81	6.56	46	72
	Visual	73.85	3.64	64	78
Word	Auditory	41.41	2.82	36	47
	Visual	43.22	3.54	35	49

Table 6 presents the correlations between the memory span measures and TOEFL scores. Hypotheses 1 and 2 posited a positive relationship between the scores in the L2 auditory simple span tests and L2 listening comprehension measure. The results support these hypotheses: the correlations between the auditory digit and word span measures and the TOEFL listening score were moderate to strong ($r = .37-.48$). In particular, the digit span score exhibited a stronger correlation with the TOEFL listening measure than the word span score did. Lastly, the correlation between the reading span measure and the TOEFL reading score ($r = .59, p < .01$) was even higher than those between the visual digit or word spans and the TOEFL reading score ($r = .54$ and $.52$, respectively). To sum up, Hypotheses 3 and 4, which assumed a positive relationship between L2 reading skills and visual memory spans, are also supported by the strong correlations.

Table 6. *Correlations between Memory Span Measures and TOEFL Scores*

Memory Span Tests		TOEFL Scores		
		Listening	Grammar	Reading
Auditory	Digit	.48**	.28	.34*
	Word	.37*	.31	.37*
Visual	Digit	.27	.24	.54**
	Word	.16	.47**	.52**
Reading		.19	.27	.59**

Note: $N=27$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

The correlations between the memory spans measured with different modes of presentation are presented in Table 7. As was the case for the correlation across the auditory simple spans in Experiment 2 ($r = .56$), the correlation between the visual digit span and the visual word span is very strong ($r = .77$). Also, the visual simple spans show a stronger relationship with the reading span than the auditory simple spans did. Except for the weak correlation between the auditory word span and the reading span measure ($r = .19$), the results suggest that there is a fairly high correlation between auditory and visual memory for the simple span materials and a moderate correlation between simple auditory and the visual memory spans, and the reading span. These findings are somewhat comparable to Daneman and Carpenter's (1980) findings with L1 participants, as well as Harrington and Sawyer's (1992) with L2 participants.

Table 7. *Correlations between L2 Memory Span Scores (Auditory vs. Visual)*

Memory Span Tests		Memory Span Tests				Reading
		Auditory		Visual		
		Digit	Word	Digit	Word	
Auditory	Digit	—	—	—	—	—
	Word	.56**	—	—	—	—
Visual	Digit	.48**	.49**	—	—	—
	Word	.53**	.63**	.77**	—	—
Reading		.35*	.19	.43*	.41*	—

Note: $N=27$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

6.0. DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

6.1. Theoretical and Pedagogical Implications

The findings of the present study have remarkable implications for L2 working memory capacity in relationship with L2 proficiency. First, in general terms, the crucial role of L2 working memory as an index of individual differences in processing capacity justifies its use as a salient indicator of L2 aptitude (Robinson, 2002; Sawyer & Ranta, 2001). Indeed, language aptitude is a very important factor in foreign language learning, whatever other factors may be of significance (Carroll, 1981). Carroll (1990) claims that foreign language aptitude consists of four sub-components: "phonetic coding ability, grammatical sensitivity, memory abilities, and inductive language learning ability" (p. 14). As one of the components, working memory capacity has the

potential to be a component of the concept of language aptitude itself and to clarify its relationship to the L2 acquisition process.

Second, working memory capacity can play a critical role in explaining L2 development across individuals and ages, given its processing capacity limitations. In terms of the transfer of reading comprehension skills from L1 to L2, it is suggested that transfer is closely linked to the development of verbal working memory in L2 (Walter, 2004). Working memory theory might be able to provide an alternative means to account for developmental stages in L2 acquisition, independent of particular linguistic structures, as exemplified by the reading span.

Lastly, from a pedagogical standpoint, the construct of working memory capacity makes substantial contributions to the theory of L2 learning and instruction. Knowledge about working memory will prove conducive to enriching teachers' skillful reading instruction by providing critical insights into the overall processes of L2 reading, general strategies for presenting information to students, and ways to encourage students to engage in reading. For instance, as an important monitor as well as facilitator in students' language learning, a teacher might be able to develop beneficial strategies for the students' effective use of working memory in receiving, storing, integrating, retrieving, and using the L2 input. In addition, the reading span test has the potential to provide an alternate reading skill assessment, which is relatively quick and easy to administer (Harrington & Sawyer, 1992).

6.2. Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

Despite these significant implications, by simply relying on bivariate correlations between L2 working memory capacity and L2 reading skills, this study fails to establish a clear direction of influence between the two variables. The limited number of participants involved also appears to be a weakness. The limitations of this current study call for future research involving more systematic and refined methodology, and analytic perspectives.

First, with respect to the design of methods, there is a need for future research to employ a computer-based test to control the processing time per participant when presenting the memory tests. Also, in order to obtain more authentic data demonstrating the participants' current L2 reading and grammar skills, alternate methods such as on-the-spot reading and grammar tests should be devised instead of relying on reported TOEFL scores. This would provide more reliable correlations with the memory span tests. Most importantly, a scoring scale for the memory span tests needs to be devised in order to measure the participants' memory spans in a more accurate manner. The present study added the total correct answers for the memory span scoring, which seems to be fairly problematic in representing the participants' individual memory spans. A better methodological design should be devised to strengthen the findings in this line of studies.

Second, a similar study comparing children and adult L2 learners could determine to what extent the differences in L2 proficiency are related to L2 working memory capacity. Baddeley (1986) argued that "aging may be an interesting and productive variable to study within the context of working memory" (p. 19). In fact, most L1 studies have found that working memory declines with age. For instance, Salthouse (1991) suggested that a slowed speed of processing information may underlie the decline in capacity of working memory with age. Therefore, the study of age-related changes in sentence comprehension would provide indirect evidence of the effect of changes in L2 working memory capacity on syntactic processing in L2 sentence comprehension tasks (see Phillips & Hamilton, 2001, for a detailed discussion about the adult aging research on the working memory model).

Finally, a longitudinal study that measures the development of L2 working memory capacity across time would be worthwhile; it will overcome the limitations of simple bivariate correlational studies based on cross-sectional development as a variable and shed some new light on precisely how and when working memory capacity limits the L2 comprehension processes.

In conclusion, L2 working memory is of significant importance for clarifying L2 reading processing, because it interacts with the basic cognitive systems assumed to underlie L2 learning. Therefore, a deeper understanding of the reading process and how students learn to read an L2 would offer “a stronger theoretical rationale for L2 reading programs and instructional approaches” (Day & Bamford, 1998, p. 11). Given the inherently complex, variable-ridden phenomena in this field, the more studies are replicated and extended, the clearer our understanding of the mysterious nature of L2 teaching and learning will be.

WORKS CITED

- Andrade, J. (2001). An introduction to working memory. In J. Andrade (Ed.), *Working memory in perspective* (pp. 3–30). Philadelphia: Psychology Press.
- Baddeley, A. (1986). *Working memory*. Oxford, UK: Clarendon.
- Baddeley, A., & Hitch, G. (1974). Working memory. In G. Bower (Ed.), *The psychology of learning and motivation*, 8 (pp. 47–90). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Baddeley, A., Logie, R., Nimmo-Smith, & Brereton, N. (1985). Components of fluent reading. *Journal of Memory and Language*, 24, 119–131.
- Carroll, J. B. (1981). Twenty-five years of research on foreign language aptitude. In K. C. Diller (Ed.), *Individual differences & universals in language learning aptitude* (pp. 83–118). Rowley, MA: Newbury.
- Carroll, J. B. (1990). Cognitive abilities in foreign language aptitude: Then and now. In T. S. Parry & C. W. Stansfield (Eds.), *Language aptitude reconsidered* (pp. 11–29). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Daneman, M., & Carpenter, P. A. (1980). Individual differences in working memory and reading. *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior*, 19, 450–466.
- Daneman, M., & Carpenter, P. A. (1983). Individual differences in integrating information between and within sentences. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition*, 9, 561–583.
- Daneman, M., & Tardif, T. (1987). Working memory and reading skill re-examined. In M. Coltheart (Ed.), *Attention and performance XII: The psychology of reading* (pp. 491–508). London: Erlbaum.
- Daneman, M., & Merikle, P. M. (1996). Working memory and language comprehension: A meta-analysis. *Psychonomic Bulletin & Review*, 3, 422–433.
- Day, R. R., & Bamford, J. (1998). *Extensive reading in the second language classroom*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Engle, R. W., Cantor, J., & Carullo, J. J. (1992). Individual differences in working memory and comprehension: A test of four hypotheses. *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory and Cognition*, 18, 972–992.
- Gathercole, S. (1994). The nature and uses of working memory. In P. E. Morris & M. Gruneberg (Eds.), *Theoretical aspects of memory* (pp. 50–78). London: Routledge.
- Gathercole, S., & Baddeley, A. (1993). *Working memory and language*. Hillsdale: Erlbaum.
- Harrington, M., & Sawyer, M. (1992). L2 working memory capacity and L2 reading skill. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, 14, 25–38.
- Just, M. A., & Carpenter, P. A. (1980). A theory of reading: From eye fixation to comprehension. *Psychological Review*, 87, 329–354.
- Kintsch, W., & van Dijk, T. (1978). Toward a model of text comprehension and production. *Psychological Review*, 85, 363–394.
- Kyllonen, P. C., & Christal, R. E. (1990). Reasoning is (little more than) working-memory capacity. *Intelligence*, 14, 389–433.
- Mackey, A., Philp, J., Egi, T., Fujii, A., & Tarcumu, T. (2002). Individual differences in working memory, noticing of interactional feedback and L2 development. In P. Robinson (Ed.), *Individual differences and instructed language learning* (pp. 181–210). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Masson, M. E., & Miller, J. A. (1983). Working memory and individual differences in comprehension and memory of text. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 75, 314–318.
- McLeod, B., & McLaughlin, B. (1986). Restructuring or automaticity? Reading in second language. *Language Learning*, 36, 109–124.
- McLaughlin, B., & Heredia, R. (1996). Information-processing approaches to research on second language acquisition and use. In W. C. Ritchie & T. K. Bhatia (Eds.), *Handbook of second language acquisition* (pp. 213–228). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

- Miller, G. A. (1956). The magical number seven, plus or minus two: Some limits on our capacity for processing information. *Psychological Review*, 63, 81–97.
- Miyake, A., & Friedman, N. P. (1998). Individual differences in second language proficiency: Working memory as language aptitude. In A. F. Healy & L. E. Bourne (Eds.), *Foreign language learning: Psycholinguistic studies on training and retention* (pp. 339–364). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Osaka, M., & Osaka, N. (1992). Language-independent working memory as measured by Japanese and English reading span tests. *Bulletin of the Psychonomic Society*, 30, 287–289.
- Osaka, M., Osaka, N., & Groner, R. (1993). Language-dependent working memory: Evidence from German and French reading span tests. *Bulletin of the Psychonomic Society*, 31, 117–118.
- Perfetti, C. A. (1985). *Reading ability*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Phillips, L. H., & Hamilton, C. (2001). The working memory model in adult aging research. In J. Andrade (Ed.), *Working memory in perspective* (pp. 101–125). Philadelphia: Psychology Press.
- Robinson, P. (2002). Effects of individual differences in intelligence, aptitude and working memory on adult incidental SLA. In P. Robinson (Ed.), *Individual differences and instructed language learning* (pp. 211–266). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Rumelhart, D. E. (1977). Toward an interactive model of reading. In S. Dornic (Ed.), *Attention and performance VI* (pp. 573–603). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Salthouse, T. A. (1991). *Theoretical perspectives on cognitive aging*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Sawyer, M., & Ranta, L. (2001). Aptitude, individual differences, and instructional design. In P. Robinson (Ed.), *Cognition and second language instruction* (pp. 319–353). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Shiffrin, R. M., & Schneider, W. (1977). Controlled and automatic human information processing II: Perceptual learning, automatic attending and a general theory. *Psychological Review*, 84, 127–190.
- Skehan, P. (1989). *Individual differences in second-language learning*. London: Arnold.
- Skehan, P. (1998). *A cognitive approach to language learning*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Turner, M. L., & Engle, R. W. (1989). Is working memory capacity task dependent? *Journal of Memory and Language*, 28, 127–145.
- Walter, C. (2004). Transfer of reading comprehension skills to L2 is linked to mental representations of text and to L2 working memory. *Applied Linguistics*, 25, 315–339.

II. Discourse and Intonation

JOSHUA STEELE 1775: SPEECH INTONATION AND MUSIC TONALITY

Hunter Hatfield, *Linguistics*

ABSTRACT

In 1775, Joshua Steele published *An essay towards establishing the melody and measure of speech to be expressed and perpetuated by peculiar symbols*. Steele documented English intonation and proposed a prosodic notation. It is argued that Steele successfully documented that speech varies in pitch, and that the notation system he developed was as accurate a phonetic representation as could be expected at that time. His musical notation, however, was hampered by the lack of a distinction between phonology and phonetics. A musical notation also inherently asserts certain claims about the structure of tonal space, which Steele was not able to justify.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

In 1775, Joshua Steele published *An essay towards establishing the melody and measure of speech to be expressed and perpetuated by peculiar symbols*. This essay was the first treatise in the English language devoted to the study of intonation in speech. The primary motivation for the essay was in fact to rebut comments from an earlier essay, *The origin and progress of language* by James Burnet, in which it was asserted that there is no change in tone in English accents. Steele's essay argues against this claim by providing a method to hear the melodic aspects of speech and, moreover, proposes a notation for speech intonation so that knowledge of "the types of modern elocution may be transmitted to posterity as accurately as we have received the musical compositions of Correlli." (Steele, 1775, p. 14) Naturally, Steele's interests in speech prosody are rather different than contemporary linguistic interests. For instance, for Steele a great outcome from his essay would be the addition of a bass accompaniment to the actor's voice in stage performances—a perhaps worthwhile goal that is yet rarely argued for in contemporary linguistic research.

Despite such different purposes, Steele's essay is quite linguistically nuanced. For instance, he argues for the notation of at least five separate properties of speech intonation – accent, emphasis, quantity, pause, and force, and believes one of the reasons the study of speech intonation had made little progress in his day is because of the conflation of all these items into only a couple terms (Steele, 1775, p. viii). Even 230 years later, working out the exact relationships between pitch, stress, duration, breaks, and intensity, respectively, remains a dominant problem in prosodic research. Additionally, while Steele developed "peculiar symbols" based upon speaking musical. Indeed he expanded the musical staff so that pitch targets in speech that did not correspond to a musical semitone could be noted. Indeed one of his main conclusions is "[t]hat the changes of voice from *acute* to *grave* and *vice versa* do not proceed by pointed degrees coinciding with the divisions of the chromatic-diatonic scale; but by gradations that seem infinitely smaller (which we call *slides*)" (Steele, 1775, p. 17; italics in original).

This paper will outline what Steele's goals were with the *Essay* and assess whether or not he met them. It will also walk the line between considering Steele in his historical context to see just what was possible at that time, but also take Steele seriously as a scholar of speech intonation and look at his argument critically. In particular, Steele, despite arguing that speech does not use the chromatic-diatonic scale for its tonal targets, does in fact use a modified music notation for speech. Does this remain a good idea, or does the current world of pitch tracks calculated by software algorithms and ToBI transcriptions render it obsolete? And if measurements of pure acoustic frequency are superior to music notation, why exactly? Answering such questions comes to be the primary point of this paper, because it makes one assess what exactly is being measured with current research tools and its relationship to speech. As a final point before moving on, it is worth noting that Steele's essay concerns the melody and measure of speech, while this paper will look exclusively at melody, or more precisely, tone. This decision is not made out of any perceived lack of interesting comments on the rhythm of speech by Steele, but simply to contain the size of the current paper.

2.0. STEELE'S RESEARCH ON ACCENT

The primary purpose for the publication of Steele's *Essay* was to rebut some comments in the influential *The origin and progress of language* by James Burnet. Indeed the majority of the essay is composed of a published dialogue between Steele and Burnet, in which, by the end, Burnet withdraws many of his major claims about intonation in language. Specifically, Steele wished to refute statements from Burnet such as: "We have accents in English...; but there is no change of the tone in them; the voice is only raised more, so as to be louder upon one syllable than another. ...[T]hen is the music of our language, in this respect, nothing better than the music of a drum...." (quoted in Steele, 1775, p. 3).

Other than showing Burnet's error, Steele had several other purposes with his *Essay*. First, he hoped to launch a field of intonation research. He states at one point that he hopes we have "found the land" and future adventurers will follow to improve upon his work. Second, developing a system of notation for speech intonation was critical to Steele because it would allow knowledge transfer between scholars and well as communicating with posterity. Third, such a notation would lead to the improvement of the arts such as stage performance, rhetoric, and general elocution.

As far as pitch, or in Steele's term, accent, is concerned, he argued that accent in speech moves up and down on each syllable in a sliding motion, the voice never resting on a single pitch, except perhaps the end note. This is in opposition to most musical idioms, including Western classical music, which uses discrete pitches in a melody. Moreover, the melodic slides of speech are not part of the musical diatonic scale, but much finer—perhaps quarter tones or smaller (Steele, 1775, pp. 1–12, *inter alia*). In the Western musical scales to which Steele was comparing, there are 12 notes in the chromatic scale, each a half-step or semi-tone apart. In the equal-tempered scales of his day, and most Western music still, these semi-tones are simply 12 equal (logarithmic) steps between a note and its octave equivalent. By asserting that speech operated at the quarter tone level, Steele was asserting that each of the semi-tones could be divided in half or more.¹

Steele based these claims on the following method for observing pitch: He employed a bass viol, which allows for sliding tones due to its lack of frets along the board. He noted that any instrument which allows for sliding tones would suffice. For the bass viol, paper is attached to the side of the board with each note marked to the quarter tone level. Steele then drew the bow across a string, setting the string vibrating. He would then slide his hand up and down the board as he spoke until he had each turning point marked. Where his finger stopped, say E-sharp, he would note it.

After this, he developed a notation for recording his research. Since speech is composed of slides, and not stable, discrete pitches, he developed note heads which were lines, curves, and circumflex notes that could cover several pitches. To these curved heads, he then added a tail which marked the duration of the syllable in a number of beats within a musical bar. These notes were then placed on a modified musical staff. Figure 1 shows Steele's notation of a line from Alexander Pope.

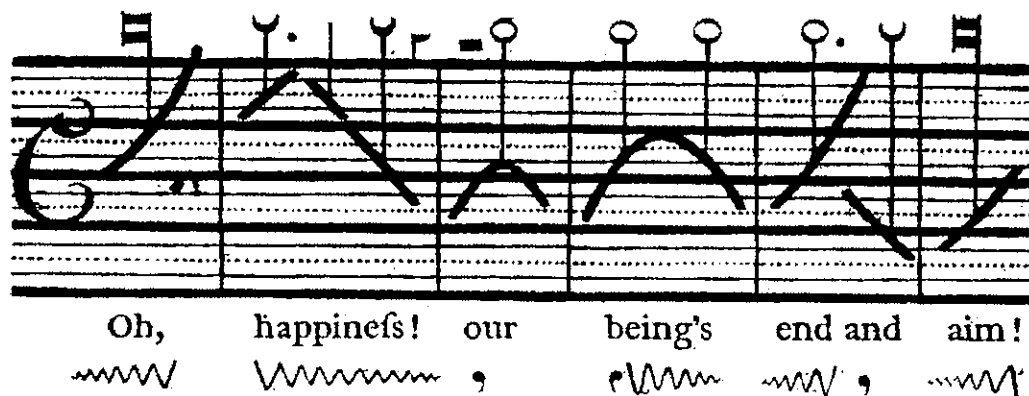


Figure 1. Transcription of Pope's Happiness (Steele, 1775, p. 13)

The broad strokes on each syllable are the decurved note heads, so the word *Oh* is transcribed here as sliding from the thick line right in the middle of the staff to a quarter tone above the staff. Also, below each word, note the wavy lines, which are Steele's invented notation for Force (intensity or loudness). Thus, *happiness* begins loud and ends soft, which indeed it would if one considers the sonority of the first low vowel as compared to the high vowel and fricative at the end. One distinguishing feature of this notation that Steele rarely draws attention to is that the note values are not mentioned here, i.e., there is no record of which notes each line represents. This is not because Steele did not have a fuller notation which record the exact quarter-tone for each syllable, but merely to save time notating when it was not critical to his point. In fact, in most of Steele's notations, even the staff itself is dropped for the most basic hints of the slides' direction and the levels they move through. One can see how cumbersome the notation can be by examining Figure 2, where each quarter-tone is labeled.

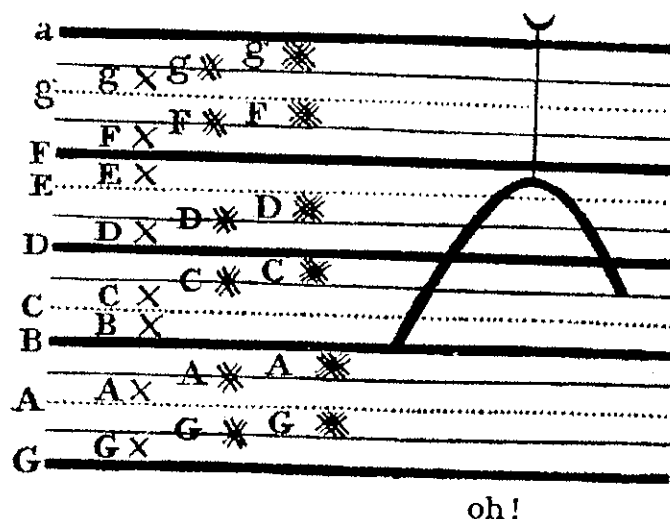


Figure 2. The word *Oh* with all staff lines marked (Steele, 1775, p. 11)

In Figure 2, each x marks an additional quarter-tone. So starting from the bottom, we have G, G+1/4, G+2/4, G+3/4, then A. There is only one quarter-tone between B and C, and between E and F, because those notes are only a semi-tone apart, instead of a whole tone.

Using these methods, Steele made numerous observations about speech accents which have stood the test of time well. For instance, looking through his transcriptions, one notes several micro-prosodic effects. For instance, the /i/ in a diphthong such as /ai/ is frequently noted higher than its companion. Steele had quite nuanced curves for speech slides. One distinction he made was between a straight slide upwards through a syllable versus a curved shape where the first part of the syllable changes pitch relatively slowly, followed by a rapid rise up or down, (Steele, 1775, p. 132). Steele was also quite aware of many of the semantic and pragmatic uses of intonation in English. He noted that sentences with a suspended meaning frequently rise at the end and that "completed" ones go down. He noted that a question can differ from a statement with only a change in intonation, for example: "That's a bear." versus "That's a bear?" Also, intonation can be used to convey understanding and emotional weight in a conversation. In addition to all this, Steele noted that accent can vary between individual speakers and, more, between dialects of English.

Above are some of the Steelian observations which we still find evidence for today. Naturally, Steele had other interests as well concerning his melodic speech. For instance, he believed his voice had a basic home note, a musical tonic, and that the range of his voice was about a 5th, the 5th being a musical interval where the frequency ratio between the 5th and the tonic (or 1st) is essentially 1.5:1. He practiced the art of accompanying his voice with the bass viol and claimed it seemed quite pleasing when the voice was accompanied by playing the tonic, the 5th, or the 4th musical intervals from his voice's home tonic. He did note, however, that, while his

range was approximately a 5th, different people had different ranges, and that was one distinguishing characteristic of English dialects.

3.0. ASSESSMENT—THE PERSPECTIVE OF 1775

We come now to the question of whether any of Steele's methodology was a good idea. Namely, can one truly use a bass viol to notate speech and does this notation system work? First looking at this question from the perspective of 1775, the answer has to be essentially "yes". Current psycho-acoustic and music perception research has shown that people can distinguish hundreds of pitches with an octave. Moreover, several musical idioms in the world, such as Indian and Arabic-Persian, commonly use quarter-tone notes in their musical scales. (Burns, 1999) The relevance of this is simply that humans are fully capable of hearing pitch fluctuations at this level of detail.

Moreover, there was no better way of measuring the frequency of sound waves at the time. For instance, in 1637, the French monk Marsenne constructed 30-meter long ropes that were tense enough to be vibrated. Since the ropes were of this magnitude, it was possible to watch their movement and count the number of waves that vibrated on them. While this is intriguing, it is certainly not very useful for Steele's purposes. It wasn't until 1819, 44 years later after publication of the *Essay*, that the Siren was invented which allowed a person to set it moving at a certain frequency and count the revolutions (Beament, 2001). Even these two inventions still depended on hearing, as they produced a note that a human had to judge in order to know what note you were measuring the frequency of. Thus, in 1775, the human ear was the best method around for measuring frequency.

How about the notation? In one sense it clearly works, as one can still today look at Steele's notations and get the basic idea of how something was said. Some of the transcriptions seem markedly unnatural at times, but that does not disprove the basic validity of the notation. More interestingly, Steele seems to have been largely accurate in his use of the quarter-tone as a sufficiently precise measure of pitch changes in speech. As a test, the author of this paper recorded himself speaking the "Oh Happiness" quote from Pope above, based on Steele's transcription. Next, the recording's absolute frequency was measured using the pitch tracking algorithm of the Praat software package. Each bend in the frequency measurement was noted. Each of the bends was converted from a Hertz unit of measurement to a corresponding quarter-tone note. (Quarter-tone frequency calculations were made by simply dividing the ratio between 2 semi-tones in half.) All of this was then marked in Steele's notation. The result is shown in Figure 3.

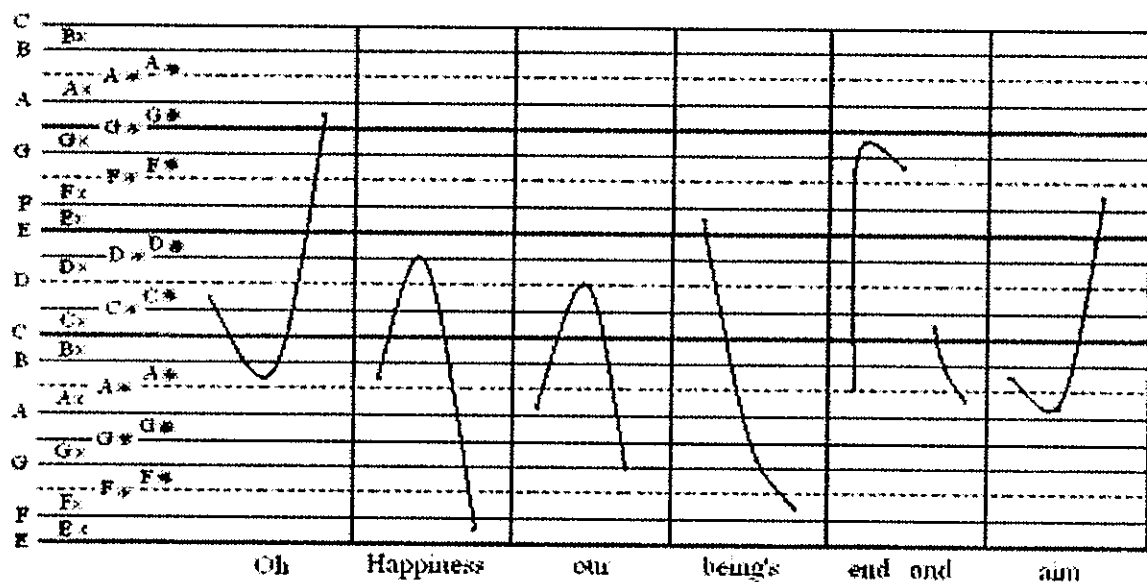


Figure 3. Translation of frequency to quarter-tones

What is significant about Figure 3 is not that it matches Steele's transcription, which it does not. It is simply that (1) the detail available here is more than sufficient to do any type of linguistic research on intonation, and (2) the difference between absolute frequency in Hertz and a quarter-tone value was never more than 3 Hertz. At present, there is no reason to believe that differences smaller than this are relevant linguistically.

Of course, there are some confusions in Steele's work that would be noticed even in Steele's historical context. On the one hand, Steele makes several comments that Accent is invariable. For instance, he states that accents are determined except for grace note, grace notes being melodic flourishes that are not part of a main melodic line. At another time, he indicates that language has fixed accents on syllables, though he admits some speakers are "indecisive". Steele has clearly distinguished between stress and pitch (Emphasis and Accent in his tones) and he is certainly speaking of tone here. Thus, this is a claim that there are fixed pitch moves that are at a minimum "best" on a syllable, once its context in discourse is specified.

On the other hand, Steele makes comments implying that accents are in fact variable. He states that there are as many accents as tempers and features in men. At another point, he mentions that 2 or 3 quarter-tones this way or that make little difference. Finally, as mentioned earlier, Steele quite frequently drops large pieces of his notation, as if they are not really too important, as long as we know the general movement of a syllable.

In the current, dominant research paradigm in speech intonation, namely the Autosegmental-Metrical approach (e.g., Ladd, 1996), these issues would be resolved by distinguishing between phonology and phonetics. Many of the tones of a language are specified in the language, and knowing those fixed tones is part of what it means to be a competent speaker of the language. However, there is great variation in the phonetic realization of many of these tones. In the end, though, it is hard to fault Steele for this confusion, as Baudouin de Courtenay, generally credited with discovering the phoneme, was not even born until 1845—70 years after Steele's essay.

4.0. MUSIC NOTATION FOR SPEECH

In this section, we will look at whether or not using a modified music notation remains the best notation for speech. Steele's notation works fairly well, but there are many other intonation transcription systems now. Most of these transcription systems start with a measurement of absolute frequency of the utterance as the basis for research, then typically add phonological tones and breaks. The best well-known of such systems is the Tones and Break Indices system (ToBI) (Silverman et al., 1992). Does Steele's notation stack up favorably against ToBI and other such transcription systems? If not, precisely why not? I will argue here that Steele's notation is no longer the best, as a musical notation inherently suggests a certain structure to the tonal space of speech, which just does not seem to be present.

To decide whether or not musical notation is proper for speech, we have to decide what makes a notation particularly "musical". Surveying many of the world's transcription systems, there appear to be two main types—ones based on particular instruments (put your finger here, press this button, etc.) and ones based upon musical intervals.² We will set the instrument-based notations aside, as Steele's notation makes no reference to the human instrument—vocal folds, shape of the oral cavity, etc. A musical interval, briefly, is a musical relationship between two pitches. Intervals relate to frequency relationships, but are not equivalent. For instance, intervals can have slightly different frequency ratios and be considered the same interval. Indeed the precise ratios between notes have been modified over time, moving from the Pythagorean to Just Temperament to Equal Temperament. Also, intervals have been discovered all over the world, often without direct knowledge of the ratios between them, but instead based simply on perception. Most importantly, the way musical intervals relate to one another does not follow the physical frequency measurements. An *A* note of 220Hz and an *A* note of 440 Hz are quite far apart physically, but are in fact considered the same note musically; they form an octave. Similarly, a musical note is considered musically closer to its 5th than it is to a note adjacent to it in frequency measurements.

So the question, of course, is whether speech-intonation is based on musical intervals of this type—not intervals necessarily of the diatonic scale, but just musical intervals *simpliciter*. One precondition for intervals in speech would be that speech uses some sort of target, some consistent location, for its high and low tones. If there is no intonational target in speech, then the target cannot be an interval. The good news is that there is

considerable evidence that speech indeed has tonal targets. When speech is normalized for a speaker's pitch range, it turns out that they quite reliably hit the same targets in the same intonation patterns (Ladd, 1996, p. 262–265). So, between multiple speakers and between one speaker at different points in time, intonation has consistent tonal points it is aiming for.

The problem is that these targets are only consistent once you normalize for pitch range. Yet, pitch range itself in speech is quite variable. Different speakers, who might have the same basic “tonic,” frequently have different ranges or excursion sizes. The same speaker can employ different ranges in different emotional states (boredom, excitement, etc.). In addition, a pitch accent can be much higher on one occasion than it is on another and yet be considered the same phonological tone. In other words, speech has tonal targets, but only within a highly variable speech range. Imagine that English intonation was based on musical intervals. Let's say that the English High tone is a 5th above the utterances initial position. Then, all English speakers aim for a 5th when they wish to use a High tone to, say, lend prominence to a syllable. Moreover, let's say that a 5th for Speaker A is at the top of his range. Remember that speech targets are consistent within pitch range, so a High tone might consistently be at 95% of the range utterance. Now, we come to the problem. If my pitch range is smaller when I am bored, but the High tone is still 95% of that range, I have just modified the interval that we hypothesized my intonation was based on. We have scrunched it up into a compressed space, changing the absolute excursion size, and changing the interval.³ On one hand, speech tonality is like musical intervals because it is not an absolute frequency that is important. Instead, it is a relationship between tones in the intonational phrase. On the other hand, the tonal space which speech occupies, with its stretching and collapsing range, has no parallel in music.

None of this is to say that speech has no predictable structure; the argument is just that the structure of intonation is not the structure of musical tonality. If, as argued, a musical notation implies that speech does have a musical tonal structure, then it is attributing a structure to speech which is in fact absent. No matter how many reminders one attached to a musical transcription of speech, saying that the speech tones are not true intervals, it remains inherently misleading. It is worth noting that this matches recent neurological studies of people with musical disabilities, where the loss of an ability to perceive general melodic contours in music goes hand-in-hand with the loss of an ability to perceive intonation, but a loss in the perception of musical tonality does not appear to have any effect on the perception of speech (Patel & Peretz, 1997; Patel, Peretz, Tramo, & Labreque, 1998).

5.0. CONCLUSION

This paper has been a basic introduction to Steele's work on melody. I recommend to the reader a look at the Measure sections as well, as many of his observations about metrical structure in speech and verse remain quite relevant today. Besides introducing the reader to Steele's *Essay*, it has been argued that Steele's descriptions of intonation and notations are essentially accurate and functional; however, a system of music notation for speech will inevitably draw researchers into assuming a parallel with music that is unfounded.

NOTES

1. For more on scales, temperament, and the like, see Burns 1999.
2. For a look at musical notations other than the standard Western staff, see Kaufmann (1972), which contains various notation systems from East, Central, and South Asia. A commonality over the centuries and cultures is some form of notating musical intervals, in either absolute or movable terms. See also Uptis (1992) where children re-invent both interval and instrument based notations.
3. After making this argument at a conference, I have since discovered largely the same argument in an unpublished paper by Jackendoff and Lerdahl (2004). Taking the opposite angle, they look at speech intonation to see if it could be a source of musical tonality. Their conclusion is that it cannot for the same issues of pitch range that I raise: “Moreover, in the course of down-drift the frequency ratio between high and low tones get smaller.... In music, the parallel would be a melody in which not only the pitches sagged gradually in the course of a phrase, as if a recording were slowing down, but the intervals also got smaller, octaves gradually degrading to fifths, fifths to thirds, and so on.” (Jackendoff & Lerdahl, 2004)

WORKS CITED

- Beament, J. (2001). *How we hear music: The relationship between music and the hearing mechanism*. Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press.
- Burns, E. M. (1999). Intervals, scales, and tuning. In D. Deutsch (Ed.), *The psychology of music* (2nd ed.) (pp. 215–264). San Diego: Academic Press.
- Jackendoff, R., & Lerdahl, F. (2004). The capacity for music: What is it, and what's special about it. Ms., Brandeis University.
- Kaufmann, W. (1972). *Musical notations of the Orient: Notational systems of continental East, South, and Central Asia*. Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith.
- Ladd, D. R. (1996). *Intonational phonology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Patel, A. D., & Peretz, I. (1997). Is music autonomous from language? A neuropsychological approach. In I. Deliège & J. Sloboda (Eds.), *Perception and cognition of music*. East Sussex, UK: Psychology Press.
- Patel, A. D., Peretz, I., Tramo, M., Labreque, R. (1998). Processing prosodic and musical patterns: a neuropsychological investigation. *Brain and Language*, 61, 123–144.
- Silverman K. E. A., Beckman, M., Pitrelli, J. F., Ostendorf, M., Wrightman, C., Price, P., Pierrehumbert, J., & Hirschberg, J. (1992). TOBI: A standard for labeling English prosody. In *Proceedings of the 1992 International Conference on Spoken Language Processing, Vol. 2* (pp. 867–870). Banff, Canada: Institute of Phonetic Sciences.
- Steele, J. (1775, 1969). *An essay towards establishing the melody and measure of speech*. Menston, UK: The Sclar Press Limited.
- Upitis, R. (1992). *Can I play you my song? The compositions and invented notations of children*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

TOPICAL FILTER: A NEW APPROACH TO TOPIC CONTINUITY IN CONVERSATION COHERENCE

Pingli Wang, Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures

ABSTRACT

Topical filter is an ordered set whose elements are related topics of concern in an utterance. A topical filter, as well as its elements, has varying degrees of primacy, which are determined by the newness of information carried by them. Primary topical filter is derived directly from an utterance and it generates its secondary, tertiary, and even lower-primacy filters. The acceptability of a topic as the center of a response depends not only on its sequential position in a given topical filter but also on its primacy degree. The use of an unexpected lower-primacy topic can produce an implicature.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Fillmore (1975) depicts two versions of a conversation game. In the first version, person A picks up a ball and throws it to person B. Person B catches it and throws it back. In the second one, person B catches the ball but throws back a new ball. The balls could be interpreted as topics. The relationship between these two balls could be interpreted as topic continuity.

Topic continuity in conversation has been an interesting topic of research in discourse analysis for decades. Grice (1975) proposed his famous Cooperation Principles, which has a crucial maxim: the Maxim of Relation. He noted that there is a strong social convention to “be relevant”. This means to stick to the topic and to relate one’s comments to those of the preceding speaker in conversation.

This paper aims to explain topic continuity in a new perspective, which is based on the Filter Theory proposed by Hsieh (2004). I offer a new concept of Topical Filter, which determines the primacy degree of topic according to the degree of oldness or, alternatively, the inverse degree of freshness of the information that the topic carries in an utterance. Using this Topical Filter, I scale the acceptability of a topic and the response it generates. I also study the way gaps in the Topical Filter may or may not permit an implicature to legitimately emerge.

2.0. LINGUISTIC BACKGROUND: FILTER THEORY

The Filter Theory is proposed by Hsieh (2004). It offers a cooperation principle in human behaviors in general that has an immediate application to conversation in particular. A filter is a sequence whose parts are related as graded elements by a chosen criterion. It is an ordered set of distinct elements. A filter can express a person’s intended goal as having several parts. For example, <having a dinner, seeing a movie, going to a bar> is a filter. To be cooperative with the person, having this goal means to adhere to this filter as closely as possible.

For example, imagine two friends by the names of Dawn and Maria. They are going to hang out on Sunday. Dawn’s filter, that is, her set of intended goals or purposes, is <having a dinner, seeing a movie, going to a bar>. Maria could be cooperative in two ways:

- a. Accept Dawn’s filter and follow it.
- b. Offer a new filter, which could be a rejection or negation of Dawn’s filter or, an alternative, new filter, which might be <going to a concert>. Thus, Maria would say, “No, I don’t want go!”, or “Why not try something unusual? Let us go to a concert!”

The ways to be cooperative in Filter Theory is similar to Fillmore's conversation games, except that the ball would be one's intended goal or purpose. To understand these kinds of intended goals, consider:

- (1) *The king of France is bald.*
- (2) *What is the weather today?*
- (3) *Please give me a glass of water.*
- (4) *(A manager to secretary). The office is so hot!*
- (5) *Can I have a glass of water?*

The intentions in utterances (1)–(5) could be described as five different filters, which are:

Filter of (1), <Giving Information (semantic content)>

Filter of (2), <Asking for Information (semantic content)>

Filter of (3), <Requesting (semantic content)>

Filter of (4), <Giving information (semantic content), Requesting the secretary to turn on the air-conditioner (pragmatic content)>

Filter of (5), <Asking for Information, Requesting water (pragmatic content)>

The responses of listeners to these five filters would be made in two ways as mentioned. For Filter 1, if the listener accepts the filter, then he or she accepts the new information without further comment. For example, he or she would say:

- (6) *Yeah, you are right!* (Accept the speaker's filter, by accepting the information.)

Or the listener could bring out his own filter:

- (7) *No, he is not!* (Negate the speaker's filter, by giving new information.)
- (8) *He is too young to be bald.* (Bring out a new filter, by giving new information.)

The responses of these five types of utterances in two different ways are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. *Cooperative Responses to Five Types of Utterances.*

Utterance	Accept the speaker's filter	Reject the filter or offer a new filter
1.<Give Information>	Yeah, you are right!	a) No, he is not. b) He is too young to be bald.
2.<Ask for information>	Very hot!	a) I don't know!
3. <Request>	a) Sure, Here you are! b) Action	a) No, I don't want to do it! b) No action
4. <Give Information, request>	a) Yes, it is hot!	a) No, I don't think so! b) Let me open the air-conditioner!(Or taking the action)
5. <Ask for information, request>	a) Sure, you can!	a) I will bring it to you! b) Action

3.0. METHODOLOGY: TOPICAL FILTER

Topical Filter contains an order set of correlated and graded topics of concern in an utterance. Consider:

- (9) *The tuition at Harvard is expensive.*

As (9) illustrates, the primary topical filter, directly derived from the utterance, is <tuition, Harvard, expensive>. Each element in this filter can generate its own set of secondary topical filters, such as <tuition, living expense, books.....>, <Harvard, MIT, Stanford.....>, <expensive, high, worthy.....>. Furthermore, the elements in the secondary topical filters in turn can generate tertiary topical filters, and so on.

In a cooperative conversation, a speaker offers a topic, which is an element in a topical filter on the primary or top-most level. The listener responds by picking up an element in the topical filters on the same or less primary level. As the conversation progresses, the speaker and the listener move through different related topics in the topical filters across different levels of primacy. Two sequential topics should be relevant enough so that the conversation can continue indefinitely.

4.0. THE CLASSIFICATION OF TOPICS

In principle, every part of a filter and every part in a derivative filter from this primary filter could be permitted as a continuing topic. However, the relation of topic to a proceeding topic determines whether the continuing topic chosen is appropriate or not.

Consider an example from Schank (1975), which shows that only a very small number of responses are reasonable responses to a certain remark:

- (10) *I just bought a new hat!*

The possible responses are:

- (11) *Fred eats hamburgers!*
 (12) *I just bought a new car!*
 (13) *There is supposed to be recession!*
 (14) *My hat is in good shape!*
 (15) *What color!*

(11) is absurd, and (12) is at least odd. (13) is more relevant, but not polite. (14) is marginally relevant, and (15) seems to be the most reasonable response. I will use Topical Filter to explain this common intuition.

4.1. Primary, Secondary, and Tertiary Topical Filters

The primary topical filter for (10) is Filter P, <I, bought, new hat>, which could generate a secondary topical filter, Filter P → Filter S:

I (the speaker)	→	Filter S1, <you (listener), other people they might know>
Bought	→	Filter S2, <got.....>
Hat	→	Filter S3, <outfit, shoes, >

These secondary filters could again generate tertiary filters, Filter S → Filter T:

You (listener)	→	Filter T1, <Other unknown people>
Got	→	Filter T2, <Other unrelated verbal actions>
Clothes, shoes...	→	Filter T3, <Other things unrelated with hat>

Let us detail the relationship between the filter for (10) and the topics of (11)–(15) below:

Filter (10), <I (the speaker), bought, new hat>
 Topic (11), <Fred>T
 Topic (12), <I (the listener)> S
 Topic (13), <Recession> T
 Topic (14), <The listener's hat > S
 Topic (15), <The hat > P

Obviously, (15) is most reasonable, because its topic falls in the primary filter of (10). However, the topics in (11) and (13) fall in the tertiary filter of (10), and the topics of (12) and (14) fall in the secondary filter of (10). But why are they different in acceptability? This may be explained by the priority order of elements in the primary filter.

5.0. PRIORITY ORDER OF ELEMENTS IN THE PRIMARY FILTER

The primary filter is not without order, but it is an ordered set of elements. Consider (10) again. Though “I” is grammatically subject and therefore a prominent topic, it does not necessarily guarantee its priority as the next topic. The most appropriate following topic is “hat”, because “hat” is new information. “Bought” is also new information, though it is not as new as “hat”. However, “I” is definitely old information, because it contrasts with the relatively newer information of both “bought” and “hat”.

The elements of the primary filter, therefore, have a priority order by considering the information they give. Basically, in a Subject-Verb-Object pattern, the object is usually first new information, and the verb (action) is the secondly new information, while the subject usually is the old information. Therefore, the filter of (10) is <Hat (n1), Bought (n2), I (o)>. In the following below, “n” represents new information, “o” represents old information. And numbers like from 1 to 2 represent a topic's newness or oldness in a decreasing level.

The relationship between the topics of (11)–(15) and the filter of (10) will thus be recast as:

Filter (10), <I (the speaker), bought, new hat>
 Topic (11), <Fred>T←S←P(o)
 Topic (12), <I (the listener)> S←P(o)
 Topic (13), <Recession> T←S←P(n2)
 Topic (14), <The listener's hat > S←P(n1)
 Topic (15), <The hat > P(n1)

Thus, we can explain why these responses are different in their acceptability. Topic (15) comes from P(n1) directly, so (15) is most reasonable. Topic (11) is situated in the tertiary filter generated by a (piece of) old primary information; therefore, (11) is absurd. Topic (13) is located in the tertiary filter, which is generated by a new (piece of) information of secondary degree of primacy; therefore, (12) is acceptable. Topic (14) resides in the secondary filter generated by a piece of new information of first degree of primacy; therefore, (14) is more acceptable than (12), since Topic (12) is a new information of only a secondary degree of primacy. Hence, the acceptability of these responses reveals a hierarchy of Topical Primacy as follows:

Topic (15), <The hat > P(n1) → Topic (14), <The listener's hat > S←P(n1) → Topic (12),
 <I (the listener)> S←P(o) → Topic (13), <Recession> T←S←P(n2) → Topic (11),
 <Fred>T←S←P(o).

6.0. TOPICAL GAP: WHERE DOES IMPLICATURE COME FROM?

The Maxim of Relevance in Grice (1975) assumes that every response should be relevant so that the conversation continues. People make relevancy by forwarding related topics. But in some circumstances, people flout this maxim on purpose. This is why many implicatures arise. And this is why (13) is even more reasonable than (14), since the buying action of the speaker is not wise when the recession is coming. Although “recession”

is located in the tertiary filter, it has an implicature (to the effect that people should try to save money in an impending recession), and its acceptability is only lower to Topic (15), <The hat >.

However, to get an implicature, the topic of the response should at least fall in the tertiary filter. Once the implicature emerges, it will have a higher priority than it originally had, since it is an indirect relevant response. Therefore, the varying acceptability of these responses to (10) can be restated as:

Topic (15), <The hat > $P(n1) \rightarrow$ **Implicature**, Topic (13), <Recession> $T \leftarrow S \leftarrow P(n2) \rightarrow$
 Topic (14), <The listener's hat > $S \leftarrow P(n1) \rightarrow$ Topic (12), <I (the listener)> $S \leftarrow P(o) \rightarrow$ Topic
 (11), <Fred> $T \leftarrow S \leftarrow P(o)$.

In summary, the acceptability of a topic depends on:

Step 1: The level of filter it falls in.

Step 2: The primacy of topics, which generate the filter.

Step 3: If it falls in F (T), we have to decide whether it is an implicature or not. If it is, it will be promoted above the most relevant topic.

7.0. CONCLUSION

A topical filter is an ordered set that contains as its elements related and graded utterance topics of different degrees of primacy. The primacy degree is determined by its informational oldness or lack of freshness. A topical filter of a certain primacy degree can in turn generate topical filters of a lesser primacy degree repeatedly. Thus, a primary topical filter generates secondary filters, and a secondary filter generates tertiary filters, and so on. The acceptability of a topic depends on its sequential position in a given topical filter, but also on the level of primacy of the filter in which this topic appears. If a topic yields an implicature, its acceptability degree may be elevated to exceed that of a topic whose usual acceptability degree is higher. In other words, to obtain an implicature serving as a suitable response, the topic of the response should be situated in the tertiary filter. Once the implicature comes out clear, it will have a higher primacy degree than it originally had, since it is an indirect and yet more relevant response than a usually direct and yet less relevant response.

WORKS CITED

- Carroll, D. W. (1999). *Psychology of language* (3rd edition). Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole.
- Fillmore, C. (1975). *Santa Cruz lectures on deixis*. Bloomington: University of Indiana Linguistics Club.
- Grice, H. P. (1975). Logical and Conversation. In P. Cole and J. Morgan (Eds), *Syntax and Semantics, Vol. 3: Speech Acts* (pp. 41–58). New York: Academic Press.
- Hsieh, H.-I. (2004). *Filters, optimality, and multi-target rules*. Paper presented at Tsinghua University, November 23.
- Levinson, S. C. (1983). *Pragmatics: Conversational implicature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schank, R. C. (1977). Rules and topics in conversations. *Cognitive Science*, 1, 421–441.

WHAT IS BEHIND SEXY PICTURES IN LOW-CUT DRESSES? A CASE STUDY OF CDA AND GENDER DISCRIMINATION

Jincao Yu, Linguistics Department

ABSTRACT

The media discourse around sexy pictures in a female student's job-hunting has been analyzed with the methodology of Critical Discourse Analysis, finding that with various linguistic strategies, the news elite has downplayed or even denied the casual relationship between the gender discrimination and the sexy pictures by negatively representing and evaluating the student and excluding the employers who refuse the student simply because of her female gender. The study also supports the conclusion that the discourse change is closely related to the social change, and that media discourse forms the interpretative framework of events, shaping and changing social minds.

1. 0. BACKGROUND INFORMATION FOR THE CASE STUDY

Since its establishment in 1949, the People's Republic of China has adopted state feminism as the dominant gender ideology. Applied earlier in Scandinavia and Egypt, within such an ideology, the state supports women, "including employing women in the state sector... and instituting progressive state law that guarantees women's equality with men" (Yang, 1999, p. 37). Women's equality with men is guaranteed both in the Chinese Constitution and in many other regulations and policies. Because of the government control of the media in this socialist country and the government's continuous efforts, the discourse of gender equality and the positive representation for women have been quite common in Chinese media, especially mainstream ones.

However, with the return of the market economy since the late 1970s, a more overtly patriarchal culture has reasserted itself in the society, and more and more Chinese women are experiencing the agony of gender discrimination in the public sphere, such as in the job market. According to the All-China Women's Federation, an official national women's organization, the employment rate of women had dropped 12.6% in 2000 from that in 1990, while the male employment rate dropped only 8.5% during the same period ("Government Urged", 2004). Even the elite women, i.e., female college students, suffer due to their gender in the job market. In a survey of 1,680 four-year college graduates, it was found that, all other things being equal, the female employment rate was 8.7% lower than that of males. When female college students finally find a job, they may not be paid equally with their male peers (Jiang, 2003).

In changing this situation, the predominant role of the media has attracted more and more attention.. At the Symposium of Mass Media and Women's Development in 2001, the government called for the mass media to "play a full role in the promotion of Women's progress and development" (Pen, 2002, p.4).

2.0. RESEARCH QUESTION

Along with the call from the government, Chinese media began to be concerned about the issue of gender discrimination against women. To find out how Chinese print media deal with the serious social problem of gender discrimination against women in the job market, a small case study is carried out. Specifically, the study will try to find how the print media have represented news events of gender discrimination and the social actors involved in the news event. It looks at what has been highlighted or downplayed in the discourse as well as the possible effect of this representation on society.

3.0. METHODOLOGY—CDA AND ITS USE IN MEDIA DISCOURSE

All the data in the case study will be analyzed with Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), a methodology whose primary aim is to investigate social inequality critically, including how it is manifested, constituted, legitimized, and so forth, through language use. The word "critical" means to show connections and causes which are hidden; it also means intervention, such as providing resources for those who may be disadvantaged through social changes (Fairclough, 1992). Since its emergence, CDA has "start(ed) from prevailing social problems, and hereby chooses the perspective of those who suffer most, and critically analyses those in power,

those who are responsible, and those who have the means and the opportunity to solve such problems” (van Dijk, quoted in Wodak, 2001, p. 1).

Pennycook (2001) divided CDA into two domains: power and linguistic interactions, and, power and meaning, which focus on the analysis of linguistic realization of ideology. Based on Foucault's work on discourse, i.e. language use, CDA is both socially constitutive, in that it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and the social relationships between people and groups of people, and it is socially conditioned (Fairclough, 1992, cited in Mills, 1997).

Media discourse has set a very good example of how discourse functions constitutively. News produced by the media not only offers us information about specific events but also is believed to reflect the society like a mirror. However, critical scholars such as Fowler (1991) and van Dijk (1993) argue that the power of the media has certainly done more than simply reflect reality. Fowler points out that news is “a discourse which ... intervenes the ‘social construction of reality’” (p. 2, single quotes in original). Van Dijk found that the power of the media rests on the fact that it can control the *amount* and *nature* of public information. More importantly, it can form the interpretation framework of events and thus give some influence in “shaping and changing social mind” (van Dijk, 1993, p. 243). It has been realized that the language of the media is one of the most persuasive and widespread discourses to which common people are exposed. Thus, it has a social, political and educational function. Returning to the metaphor of the mirror, we will find that the reflections are sometimes distorted, and this distortion can even magically conceal the image completely. The media cannot objectively record and describe reality; neither can it neutrally report facts and stories.

How media discourse is employed by the dominant groups to maintain their power over the disadvantaged groups is always one of CDA's focuses. In examining a feature in the newspaper *The Sun* reporting an industrial tribunal's successful conviction of a male employer for sexual harassment of two female employees, Talbot (1996) analyzed reportage, verbal play, and the naming practices in detail, and found that this news feature had “assimilated elements of the oppositional discourse of feminism, yet simultaneously left intact more traditional assumptions about sexual relations between men and women” (p. 196).

Reviewing personal narratives about women who “pay for sex” in the monthly women's magazine *Marie Claire*, Caldas-Coulthard (1996) examined the assumptions about gender that underlie this discourse. Focusing on orientation and evaluation in the fictionalized narratives about women who “pay for sex,” she found that while the magazine seems to incorporate some basic liberal and feminist principles, those first-person testimonies helped “construct and maintain a contradictory ideology of femininity and sexuality” (p. 250). More importantly, the underlying ideology that in order to be a happy woman, one should be in a long-term heterosexual relationship was reinforced.

As reviewed so far, most studies applying CDA to study gender issues are restricted to English data. More importantly, all the issues mentioned in the media discourse occur in the private sphere, i.e. family- or sex-related issues. To investigate how the media discourse in a developing country, namely China, deals with gender issues in public spheres, such as in the job market, I will specifically refer to van Dijk's framework of media discourse analysis and Fairclough's approach to qualitatively analyze several texts found in Chinese local newspapers.

4.0. THE DISCOURSE AROUND THE SEXY PICTURES

All the data in the case study are about the same news event: in 2002, a female student graduating from college attached sexy pictures of herself taken in low-cut dresses to her job-hunting material, since she had been refused more than ten times because of her female gender (“Nusheng,” 2002). Her action caused great controversy. Four texts will be analyzed in great detail. Among these texts, the two news reports are the earliest ones covering the event. They also offer much detail about the news event. In particular, the initial report has been cited in other newspapers and uploaded to web pages (e.g., “Dixiong,” 2002; Jin, 2003). The two commentaries analyzed in the study have been chosen by the most influential national website as the leading articles in a web argumentation. Thus, they can be assumed to at least partly represent the reaction of the mainstream Chinese media to this event.

4.1. The Initial Report

The very initial report found about this event was published in *Wuhan Chengbao*, one of the leading local newspapers where the event happened. Throughout the whole report, it is found that the entire news event has been distorted. One of the social actors, the female student Xu, has been negatively represented and evaluated, while another social actor has been excluded and therefore takes no responsibility.

The first report is entitled “Female college student takes pictures in low-cut dresses to look beautiful and ‘make impression’ ”:

Qiuzhi lu zaoju(endnote1)
(job-hunting repeatedly refused)
“Being refused repeatedly in job-hunting,”

nu daxuesheng pai dixiong zhao yiqiu meili ‘dongren’
(female college student take low-breast pictures to pretty ‘winning’)
“a female college student took pictures in low-cut dresses to make impression.”

While the enhancement relationship between these two clauses suggests a causal relationship between the refusal and the student’s picture-taking, a deeper causal connection between gender discrimination and the refusal has been concealed. Hence, it is possible that the reader assumes that she was repeatedly refused a job because of her low qualifications. More importantly, the female student’s motivation for providing pictures of herself has been completely distorted. The lexical item “in order to” (yiqiu) establishes that to “look beautiful” (meili) and “make impression” (dongren) is the reason for her picture-taking. Therefore, her action is represented in the text as a personal choice about her appearance instead of the pointing to the desperate behavior caused by the social problem of gender discrimination. Another function of this title is that it implicitly evaluates the female student negatively, because in Chinese culture, an exaggerated interest in appearance usually undermines the more serious values associated with studies and work (Evans, 1996, p. 140). More seriously, even the smallest suggestion of some sexual or erotic meaning in a woman’s appearance can invite suspicion of shamelessness and immorality. This means that even though there is a convincing reason for Xu to have pictures taken of herself in low-cut dresses, her behavior is still evaluated by the journalist as at least unusual, or even immoral.

As introduced, the process involves at least two social actors: over ten employers who refused Xu because of her female gender, and Xu, who takes a desperate action to find a job. Surprisingly, those employing units almost disappear. The lexical item “employing units” (yongren danwei) appeared only once in paragraph 2:

Xu Li ge fangmian dou hen youxiu
(Xu Li every aspect all very outstanding)
“Xu Li is extremely outstanding in all aspects.”

Dan cong shiyue chu kaishi qiuzhi yilai
(but from October beginning start job-hunting since)
“But since starting her job-hunting from early October,”

zong zai zuihou guantou tingdao yongren danwei yihan de shengying:
(always at final moment hear employ units regretful SP² voice)
“she always heard the regretful voice of the employing units at the last moment.”

yaoshi ni shi nansheng de hua, women mashang luyong.
if you be male student SP talk we at once hire
“if you were a male student, we would hire you immediately.”

Here, the melonymy/embodiment has two functions: it downplays the agency of the employing units, and it highlights Xu's agency. The syntactic structure is:

S (the pro-drop but contextually known Xu) V (heard) O (Voice)

Then, Xu is the agent and the abstract voice is the theme. This sentence structure also helps to weaken the employing units' role in the whole event: they refuse to admit an outstanding female student simple because of her gender.

Following the title of the report, the negative evaluation of Xu comes from two different sides. First, the journalist implicitly evaluates her action by choosing particular lexical items and scare quotes. Take the lead (first paragraph) for example.

Xu Li **yiqizhixia** ...
(Xu Li in a fury)
"Xu Li in a fury,"

fu shang ziji dixiong xinggan zhaopian,
(attach SP own low-breast sexy pictures)
"attached her own sexy pictures in low-cut dresses."

bing **zicheng** xiaohua, yi mou yi zhi.
(and extol herself campus belle, to seek one job)
"She also extolled herself as the campus belle to look for a job."

The journalist chooses the word "in a fury" (*yiqizhixia*), which implicates that Xu's picture-taking is something unreasonable, a consequence of an impulse. This blame is consistent with the stereotype that women cannot control their impulses and behavior reasonably. Similarly, the word "extolled herself as" (*zicheng*) implies that she is too aggressive, which is not encouraged in a Chinese culture that glorifies modesty.

Second, the female student provides a degree of negative self-evaluation. At the end of the initial report, it is said:

Xiao Xu **biaoshi**,
(Xiao Xu express)
"Xiaoxu expresses,"

chu ci **xiace** ye shi po **yu wunai**,
(make this bad method to be forced SP cannot but)
"she could do nothing but be forced to take this worst method."

As shown in the above excerpt, Xu, the victim of gender discrimination, "expresses" (*biaoshi*) her attaching sexy pictures in the job-hunting material as "worst method" (*xiace*). She also emphasizes that she was "forced to" (*po yu wunai*) take this action and that it is not what she would have preferred to do. The power of deprecating sexy pictures therefore has been strengthened, since the student herself insinuates that this behavior is not good.

Xu's job-application material is also used to construct her negative image by the journalist. In the whole report, Xu's job qualification is described in only one sentence:

Ju **jieshao**,
(according to introduction)
"It was introduced"

Xu Li ge fangmian dou hen youxiu
 (Xu Li every aspect all very outstanding)
 "that Xu Li is extremely outstanding in all aspects."

Although subject-drop in Chinese is quite common, readers can usually find the subject according to the context. However, there is no trace for the agent of the action "introduce" in the reporting clause, and this absence makes it unclear who made this introduction, which reduces the credibility of Xu's high qualification. Such a sentence mode, in addition to the very limited amount stated about her qualifications, successfully mitigates the gravity of gender discrimination: even a very outstanding female student is discriminated against because of her gender in the job market.

At the same time, the reporter describes Xu's job-application materials as follows:

benren shi xuexiao gongren de meili nusheng
 (myself be college generally recognized SP pretty female student)
 "I myself am generally recognized as a beautiful female student on campus."

... neng hejiu.
 (can drink)
 "...I can drink alcohol."

It is shocking to find that the journalist only publishes this part from the application materials, which are approximately 20-pages long. Since the Chinese social norms and conventions require a woman to be modest and concerned about her internal qualities, instead of external beauty in public spheres, Xu's mention of her physical beauty is quite unusual. Also, alcohol-drinking is completely improper for a good Chinese woman. This quotation is consistent with the representation of the whole report: Xu is not a good woman, and her action should be criticized.

Therefore, we find the very first report about the social practice has distorted the event and the two social actors involved in the practice have been presented differently. The social actor who is the victim in real life has been negatively represented, evaluated, and more importantly, constructed as an active actor in the whole event. At the same time, the other actors are obscured or even unseen with their agency downplayed. Such a strategy not only transforms Xu's action from a desperate reaction to gender discrimination to one of individual choice, it reduces the seriousness of the social problem and shifts the focus of the whole event, concealing the employing units and their responsibility in the event and exposing only Xu to public comments and evaluation.

4.2. The Subsequent Report

On the next day, *Wuhan Chengbao* published a follow-up report about the incident (Hu, 2002). Not surprisingly, the mitigation, even the concealment, of gender discrimination and the highlight of Xu's agency are repeated. The headline is as follows:

nu daxuesheng Xu Li pai dixiong zhao qiuzhi,
 (Female college student Xu Li take low-breast pictures seek job)
 "Female college student Xu Li takes pictures in low-cut dresses for job-hunting."

liang gangzi qiye yuan jieshou.
 (two Hong Kong-funded enterprises willing accept)
 "Two Hong Kong-funded enterprises are willing to admit her."

Compared with the first news report, which at least takes the repeated refusal in the job market as the surface reason for Xu's action in the headline, this title gives not a single word for the reason responsible for her helpless situation. Naturally, the deeper reason for the whole event is absent again. Considering the important role of headlines in news reports (e.g., Couldas-Coulthard, 1996; Talbot, 1996), the repeated exclusion of gender discrimination has not made any distinction between the employing units as the instigators of Xu's

action and Xu as a victim who has to find a job and make a living. As a result, it is not the employers but the female student who faces the criticism.

Besides exclusion, another similar strategy again employed by the newspaper in the second report is distortion. Take the lead (the first paragraph of the news report) for example. Being “the most important paragraph” of the story, it establishes the main themes and introduces the basic facts and people involved in the event (Caldas-Coulthard, 1996, p. 257). The lead of the second report says:

Xu Li qiuzhi yinqi zhongduo qiye guanzhu,
(Xu Li seek job cause a great many of enterprises attention)
“Xu Li’s job-hunting has caught the attention of many enterprises.”

zuori, liang gangzi qiye jun biaoshi,
(Yesterday, two Hong Kong-funded enterprises both express)
“Two Hong Kong-funded enterprises both expressed yesterday”

bu kanzhong Xu Li de xueli,
(not think a lot of Xu Li structure particle education level)
that they didn’t mind Xu Li’s education level,”

yuanyi wu tiaojian jieshou.
(willing no condition accept)
“and would admit her unconditionally.”

While the first clause summarizes the prior event by the nominalization of Xu Li’s job-hunting, the reporter cloaks the causality between Xu’s action and gender discrimination. Through quoting the future employers in indirect speech and emphasizing that Xu’s “education level” (xueli) would not prohibit her from finding employment, the reporter seems to imply that the main problem causing Xu Li’s failure to find a job is her educational level. Another possible interpretation is that the media implicates that the two employers offer Xu the job because they took pity on her. Since both the two employers are male, represented by “he” in the article, the report even insinuates Xu might be employed because of her hot pictures. Again, the desperate reaction to gender discrimination then is distorted to some personal issues.

To summarize the initial reports about pictures taken in low-cut dresses, it would appear that the journalists have used the headlines, the leads, the quotations, the rhetoric, and specific lexical items to represent Xu negatively. Xu’s action has been distorted from the helpless reaction to gender discrimination in the job market into an active individual choice by linguistically highlighting her agency in the whole event. Simultaneously, the seriousness of the gender discrimination in the job market has been downplayed. Moreover, these two texts, especially the first report, have articulated many of the problems which would be articulated in the subsequent discourse.

4. 3. Two Subsequent Commentaries

While *Wuhan Chengbao* published the news reports about the pictures in low-cut dresses, many critics made their own commentaries on this issue. Both of the commentaries were published in different local newspapers and then were chosen by www.sina.com.cn, the most influential web site across China, as the leading articles in the web discussion of this event. It is therefore assumed that these two commentaries can at least partly represent the most popular reaction of the Chinese media to the event. Despite Commentary 1’s (“Qianguize,” Cao, 2002) criticism and Commentary 2’s (“Zunzhong,” Situ, 2002) support for Xu’s action, these two commentaries have downplayed the gender discrimination involved in this event and interpreted Xu’s behavior as an individual choice. The transformation of a social problem into individual choice is consistent with the initial report analyzed above, and this is not coincidental.

These two commentaries deal with some social problem beyond gender discrimination specifically.. Commentary 1 criticizes the abnormal view and taste in the job market:

miandui kaoguan de pingwei he bole de yanguang.
(facing judge SP taste and talent agent SP view)
“facing the judge’s taste and the talent agent’s view,”

chuyu ruoshi shenfen de qiuzhizhe you neng zenmeyang?
(be in disadvantage identity SP job-hunter again can how)
“what could the disadvantaged job-hunters do?”

Thus the social actor who should be responsible for Xu’s desperate response, the employing units, are transformed into abstract view and taste. Since “view” and “taste” are quite personal in nature, the author could strongly criticize those who have such view and taste without mentioning the social problem of gender discrimination at all. According to this logic, Xu is constructed as one wanting followers of immoral principles and catering to abnormal tastes and views. However, she is a socially and/or economically disadvantaged woman in real life. In other words, there does exist some social problem, but it is made out to be a vague issue of “taste” affecting job-hunters of both genders, instead of a problem of gender discrimination affecting women only.

Regardless of its stance of supporting Xu’s action and its opposition to Commentary 1, Commentary 2 also transforms the discrimination against women into another social problem. It claims that women should not be criticized for using their physical beauty in the public sphere:

Nazhe xingganzhao qu qiuzhi nandao jiu buneng lijie cheng
(hold SP sexy pictures go job-hunting speech particle not understand as)
“why cannot women’s job-hunting with their own sexy pictures be understood as”

Nuxing zhanxian ziwo meili de yizhong jiankang biao xian?
(women show one’s own charm SP one type sound performance)
“a reasonable way to show their charm?”

Xu’s behavior is interpreted in this sentence as her active choice to show the physical beauty while the reason that leads her action has been totally ignored.

In sum, it is found that both of the commentaries have concealed the causal relationship between gender discrimination against women. Xu’s reaction has been interpreted as a personal choice instead of the passive response to gender discrimination.

5.0. CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Through the detailed analysis of four texts from different newspapers and of different genres, it is found that the media discourses about the sexy pictures in job-application materials have used several strategies to mitigate the seriousness of gender discrimination against women or even deny the very existence of such discrimination. Such a goal is achieved through negatively representing and evaluating the female victim of gender discrimination, and through excluding the social actor who should take the primary responsibility for the event.

All these findings remind us of the complex relationship between social power and discourse. The approach of access analysis in media discourse may effectively explain why gender discrimination has been denied by the media. Like minorities in Europe, Chinese women also lack access to mass media. Even though one-third of Chinese media professionals are females, the profession is still androcentric (Liu, 2003, p. 18). It is unavoidable that the domination of males will be naturalized and legitimized through news production, writing style, source access, and general perspectives in news discourse. While the current discussion about Chinese media largely centers on how it can get out of the control of the communist authorities, the hegemony of males cannot be neglected as well.

Also, these texts have reflected perfectly how discourse change is related to social change. With the economic reforms, the ideology of gender difference has returned to China, and so has an overt patriarchal culture (e.g., Evans, 1996; Yang, 1999). Within this ideology and culture, gender norms are more strictly enforced than before, while sexuality is still taken as a taboo for women in public spheres such as the job market. Therefore, Xu's resistance has been represented as aberrant behavior for Chinese women and negatively reported and evaluated. The media discourse analyzed here helps to reproduce the ideology of gender difference and male hegemony.

Along with a market economy, Chinese media institutions are becoming independent enterprises instead of being part of the ideological apparatus of a communist or socialist society. Therefore, these media institutions are marketing their commodities in ways that maximize their fit with the lifestyles of media consumers. In an analysis of the causes of gender discrimination in Chinese mass media, Huang (2002) found that there is a rampant tendency to represent women as the commodity of sex, which he attributed to traditional patriarchal culture and the existent male hegemony. This tendency is at least partly reflected when the journalist chose some sexist lexical items to attract male readers' attention, such as "portrait" (xiezhenji) and "women body" (nuer shen). However, the adoption of these two lexical items can be also taken as a tendency toward informality of language. This is a sign of democratization, one of the three main tendencies in the ongoing changes in orders of discourse (Fairclough, 1992).

Since this case study analyzes only four texts chosen from different local newspapers, the findings cannot be generalized to the entire Chinese press. Further study should be extended to other varieties of newspapers and other forms of media. Also, considering the great influence of computers in our society, more attention should be given to Internet material. One of the concerns in analyzing web texts is to include other discourses appearing on the same web page, which may include written texts, visual images, and even spoken voices. For example, the two news reports are found in the webpage with other "relevant links", whose theme is the immoral behavior of female students, including prostitution and cohabitation before marriage. Such a categorization certainly reflects a specific ideological stance and has strong impact on shaping web-viewers' mind.

NOTES

1. In all excerpts, Chinese original is with **bold** for the emphasis by the author. The interlinear English translation is in parentheses. The functional equivalent translation is in double quotation mark.
2. SP= structure particle.

WORKS CITED

- Caldas-Coulthard, C. R. (1996). 'Women who pay for sex. And enjoy it': Transgression versus morality in women's magazines. In C. R. Caldas-Coulthard & M. Coulthard (Eds.), *Texts and practices: Reading in critical discourse analysis* (pp. 250-270). London: Routledge.
- Cao, L. (2002, November 25). Nusheng pai dixiongzhao qiuzhi beihou de "qian guize". [The implicit rule behind the female student's picture-taking in low-cut dresses for job-hunting.] *Nanfang Dushi Bao*. [South News]. Retrieved March 30, 2004, from http://law.anhuinews.com/ahnews/article/20021125/20021100174625_1.html
- Evans, H. (1996). *Women & sexuality in China: Dominant discourse of female sexuality and gender since 1949*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and social change*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Fowler, R. (1991). *Language in the news: Discourse and ideology in the news*. New York: Routledge.
- Government urged to help women find more jobs. (2004, March 9). *China Daily*. Retrieved March 26, 2004, from http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/english/doc/2004-03-09/content_313177.htm
- Hu, J. H. (2002, November 26). Nu daxuesheng Xu Li pai dixiongzhao qiuzhi Liang gangzi qiye yuanyi jieshou. [Female college student Xu Li takes pictures in low-cut dresses for job-hunting Two Hong Kong-funded enterprises are willing to admit her.] *Wuhan Chengbao*. Retrieved March 30, 2004, from http://law.anhuinews.com/ahnews/article/20021126/20021100175744_1.html

- Huang, H. (2002). Shixi dazhong chuanbao zhong xingbie qishi de chengyin. [The contributing factors of sexual discrimination in mass media.] *Funu Yanjiu Luncong*, 45, 58–62.
- Jiang, A. P. (2003). Guanzhu laodongli shichang zhong de xingbie pingdeng. [Pay attention to the gender equality in the job market.] *Funu Yanjiu Luncong*, 51, 51–59.
- Liu, L. Q. (2003). Meiti zhiye nuxing de kunjing. [The predicament of professional women in the media.] *Funu Yanjiu Luncong*, 52, 18–22.
- Mills, S. (1997). *Discourse*. London: Routledge.
- Pen, P. Y. (2002). Chongfen fahui dazhong chuanmei zai cujin funu jinbu yu fazhan zhong de zuoyong. [Give full play to the role of mass media in the promotion of women's progress and development.] *Funu Yanjiu Luncong*, 45, 4–9.
- Pennycook, A. (2001). *Critical applied linguistics: a critical introduction*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Qiuzhi nu zao ju Nu daxuesheng pai dixiongzhao yiqiu meil "dongren". (2002, November 25). [Being refused repeatedly in job-hunting, female college student takes pictures in low-cut dresses to look beautiful and "make impression".] *Wuhan Chengbao*. Retrieved March 30, 2004, from http://law.anhuinews.com/ahnews/article/20021125/20021100174158_1.html
- Situ, L. (2002, November 27). Weishenme buneng zunzhong dixiongzhao qiuzhi? [Why can't job-hunting with pictures taken in low-cut dresses be respected?] *Xin Kuai Bao*. Retrieved March 30, 2004, from <http://cul.sina.com.cn/1/d/2002-11/27/22042.html>
- Talbot, M. (1996). Construction of masculinities in the Sun. In S. Johnson & U. H. Meinhof (Eds.), *Language and masculinity* (pp. 188–208). Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- van Dijk, T. A. (1993). *Elite discourse and racism*. Newbury Park: Sage.
- Wodak, R. (2001). What CDA is about – a summary of its history, important concepts and its developments. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of critical discourse analysis* (pp. 1–13). Newbury Park: Sage.
- Yang, M. M. (1999). From gender erasure to gender difference: State feminism, consumer sexuality, and women's public sphere in China. In M. M. Yang (Eds.), *Spaces of their own: Women's public sphere in transitional China* (pp. 35–67). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

III. Literature

CRYING INNOCENT: LAMENT IN *GENJI* AND JOB

Lina J. Terrell, *Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures*

ABSTRACT

This paper explores parallels between “Suma” and “Akashi”, two pivotal chapters early in *The Tale of Genji*, and the book of Job in the Bible, and proposes that their similarity lies in the commonality of their themes. Although the similarities between the two texts are balanced by differences so great that one could never mistake one work for the other, both plot lines follow similar trajectories, and both Genji and Job react to their circumstances in a manner valued by the respective societies in which they live.

Genji Monogatari is a huge work covering in minute detail the life of its protagonist Prince Genji, without neglecting the lives and psyches of hundreds of other characters as well. In a work of this size, universal themes also to be found in other literary traditions must emerge. The inevitability of this makes it no less interesting to note parallels between two pivotal chapters early in the *Genji*, and the book of Job in the Bible. Both Genji and Job are men prominent in their respective worlds, standing out for their superior characters and treatment of others. Both men are subjected to the loss of all they hold dear, at the caprice of enemies working against them. Both lament their undeserved treatment at the hands of fate and gods, and are exiled from their communities in their times of trouble. Finally, both have a direct encounter with supernatural figures who directly intervene to return the hero to an even greater glory than he enjoyed before his trials began. Naturally, these similarities are accompanied by differences so great between the two works that one could never mistake one for the other, nor even suppose that the authors' purposes were the same.

The book of Job is a religious tract written in a combination of prose and verse to present a discourse on the injustice of the suffering of blameless people, while blatant sinners often lead prosperous lives. It has a universal didactic purpose entirely missing from the novelistic goals of close analysis and exploration of psychological themes in *Genji*. However, both works present a hero who suffers due to the machinations of others, laments his undeserved fate, and demands why he must undergo this trial though guilty of no crime.

An important difference between the two texts concerns the honesty of the two men. Job maintains his innocence of any wrongdoing throughout his entire text, and indeed we have no reason to doubt him. We can trust his assertion that his sufferings are for no sin he has committed, since the aim of the work is to examine faith and trust in God, even in times of unbelievable suffering, on the part of one who does not deserve to suffer. Prince Genji, however, is not so innocent, nor is he so honest. Our hero either engages in a self-deception when he asserts, and seems to believe, that he has done nothing to warrant exile; or he is truly unrepentant of his great deed: his secret affair with the Fujitsubo lady, his father's wife, and his fathering of the Crown Prince, the future Reizei emperor. Yet, he acknowledges to the Fujitsubo lady that he “can think of but one explanation for these astonishing charges—one that makes [him] fear the judgement of heaven” (168).¹ During his exile in Suma, frequent references to the young Crown Prince serve as reminders of Genji's real sins, yet he and his attendants continue to lament the wrongness of his exile. Of course, to the extent that he is innocent of the public charges against him, and thus justified in his protestations of innocence, Genji is perfectly right. However, to the extent that he knows the gravity of his secret, and the cost of its discovery, and yet continues to deny that he has done anything to deserve exile, Genji deceives himself, and those around him—if not the reader.

Both Genji and Job have two alternate manifestations in these works: the hero triumphant, honored and wise, who gives way to the hero under trial, unjustly wronged, disgraced and upset. After suffering through their respective trials and facing supernatural powers, both are restored to more than their former glory. The two figures of Job are Job patient and Job angry. Patient Job is a prosperous man, “blameless and upright, one who feared God and turned away from evil” (1.1). This Job continues to hold sway through his loss of all his wealth, his children, and his health. He loses his status in his community and is abandoned by everyone but his wife. Yet, he continues to praise God, saying, “Shall we receive the good at the hand of God, and not receive the bad?” (2.10). The second, angry Job, who “cursed the day of his birth” (3.1), bursts out at the beginning of the poetic section of the book, when he enters into a debate with three friends to fiercely contradict their assertions that he must in some way have deserved his fate. In deep contrast to both his dignified piety and patient

suffering of the first two chapters, the passion and fury of this second Job flows out in angry, sarcastic comments on his opponents' dogma, and in his demands for a just trial in which he can confront God and prove his innocence: "I desire to argue my case with God. As for you, you whitewash with lies; all of you are worthless physicians." (13.3-4) He demands to know why he has been abandoned by God, is adamant both in continuing to assert his own innocence and in demanding an answer from God. At the end, Job the patient returns, accepting the message of God though it does not ever answer Job's ultimate question of why innocent people suffer: "See, I am of small account," he says. "What shall I answer you? I lay my hand on my mouth." (40.4)

Genji, too, has two sides, though they are less starkly contrasting than in the case of Job, and are reflected more in the change of his material circumstances than in his comportment or faith. Parallel to patient Job, Genji ascendant is a figure of social prominence, the son of an emperor, and unequalled in his mastery of poetic expression, emotional depth, and charisma. Although he does not seem to realize it himself, everyone around him is deeply affected by his beauty and appeal. This brilliant figure is eclipsed by the melancholic Genji, in a time of trial brought on by his enemies, personified by the Kokiden lady, a long-time rival of Genji's mother for the affections of his father, and jealous of her son's prerogatives. When Genji is trammelled by a scandal at court, the prospective loss of face and status makes him decide to exile himself from the capital voluntarily, thus getting "away from the city before [he] suffer[s] a worse humiliation" (162). He leaves behind the magnificent trappings of his earlier life, and retires to a simple "travel dwelling" (173), with only the simplest of clothing and furnishings, "all of the plainest, most unadorned sort.... There were to be no ostentatious articles of furniture, no magnificent robes; his guise would be that of a humble mountain peasant" (167). Although he is not certain he will ever be able to return, Genji may be maneuvering in an attempt to better his chances of a return to the capital by showing his willingness to do penitence for his social disgrace by depriving himself of his luxurious life in the capital.

Just as Job continues to insist he has done nothing to warrant such punishment, Genji continues to insist on his innocence of the acts to which he stands accused: "I believe it must be my karma to suffer unmerited hardships" (165), but he retreats after making his round of farewells in the capital. In contrast to furious Job, outspoken in his outrage at the treatment he is receiving, melancholy Genji is disinclined to throw a challenge into his opponents' faces. Instead, he risks everything by going into voluntary exile, knowing he may never return, and at the same time, knowing that such exile is the only way to regain the status that he has lost in the trumped up scandal.

The source of the difference in their responses to their attackers can be explained by the difference in their consciences: Job is truly innocent, whereas Genji is not. Job truly has lost everything. He has nothing to lose and is prepared to die before bowing his head and confessing to a sin he has not committed; Genji, on the other hand, has his great secret, and knows he is getting off lightly with mere self-exile. Besides trying to save his own future, he is protecting the interests of his natural son, the Crown Prince: should the truth of his parentage ever come to light, the boy's life, as well as that of the Fujitsubo lady, would be destroyed. Whether to keep up appearances so as not to arouse the suspicions of his enemies, or in genuine grief at having to leave the capital and go into lonely exile, Genji raises a lament at the injustice of his situation. His manner of doing so might be irritating in a way Job's more justified lament is not, were it not for the beauty of the language and the way his response fits in perfectly with the emotional esthetic of the world in which he lives. He never indulges in a furious tirade as Job does, but his deepening melancholy, and his frequent return to memories of better days, as well as his grief at the possibility that they will never return, serve as a long, refined plaint against his fate: "Genji often found himself in tears, his mind full of sad memories." (185)

Where Genji's friends are loyal to him throughout his troubles, and find his beauty and grace even more compelling when he is under stress, Job's friends are false and confront him with theology that would hold no one is punished by God for sins he did not commit, and therefore Job must have done something to deserve his trials. They also hold Job's anger against him, and say he has no right to defend himself to God, who does nothing without just cause. The difference in the responses of their friends highlights the different purposes of the two texts. The Book of Job has the final effect of teaching that suffering is not evidence of some punishment by God for sins committed by the sufferer; there is no divine policy of retribution against bad people, nor are good people spared from suffering. Job's friends represent the type of theology that assumes that those who suffer misfortune are being cursed for some wickedness, a parallel to the idea actually presented in

Deuteronomy, that believers who follow the laws of the covenant will be rewarded. So the speeches of Job's false friends serve a rhetorical purpose of presenting a viewpoint that will be countered and proven wrong in the narrative. Their wrong-headedness and arguments are the foil against which Job illustrates his superior theology, and in the end, Job turns out to have been completely correct, and his friends must rely on him to be reinstated in God's favor: "My servant Job shall pray for you, for I will accept his prayer not to deal with you according to your folly; for you have not spoken of me what is right, as my servant Job has done." (42.8) Genji's friends provide no such opposite viewpoint to serve as a contrast for the hero's words. Instead, Genji's friends reinforce the idea that Genji's exile is unfair. They join in his lament, miss him terribly, and shake their heads over the caprice of his enemies. There is irony in this contrast, since in fact Genji has committed an act for which he may deserve exile, while Job has not; yet Genji's friends stay true, and Job's desert him.

Finally, at the climaxes of both these works, supernatural forces intervene to affect the fates of the two heroes. In Job, God finally makes his appearance, and in a sort of tour of this wonderful universe he has created, shows Job how any questions must fail in the face of its glory: "Where were you when I laid the foundation of the earth?" (38.4) "Who has cut a channel for the torrents of rain, and a way for the thunderbolt, to bring rain on a land where no one lives, on the desert, which is empty of human life, to satisfy the waste and desolate land, and to make the ground put forth grass?" (38.25-27) "Can you bind the chains of the Pleiades, or loose the cords of Orion?" (38.31) "Do you give the horse its might?" (39.19) "Is it by your wisdom that the hawk soars, and spreads its wings toward the south?" (39.26) These are just a few of the wonders which God presents to Job, who is quickly subdued. God's speech is a mystical non-answer to the question of why the innocent suffers; but God's direct communication, and the reminder of the beauty of creation makes Job realize how insignificant he is. His anger is completely extinguished, as is his desire to argue his innocence. Job's faith throughout his trial never wavered, but now, he is reminded of his own humility. Where before he may have harbored a secret pride at his own piety, now he is purified and ready to regain favor in the eyes of God. He is restored to greater wealth, more children are born to him, and he lives to see his own descendants to the fourth generation.

The climax of the exile story in the *Genji* comes after Genji has spent nearly a full year in Suma and the season for ritual expunging of troubles comes around. Perhaps in the ceremony in which the modern Doll Festival (Hina matsuri, March 3rd) originates, Genji goes to the ocean and sends out over the sea a doll that will take his troubles away with it. The sight of the doll, alone and adrift on the sea, brings home to him his own troubles, and his prospects for the future. Genji composes a poem which seems to throw the serene sea into a frenzy:

The manifold host of gods heavenly and earthly must surely pity me,
for I have been guilty of no offense whatsoever. (188)

A furious storm springs up at the instant of his recitation. Wind and rain combine to produce a flood which threatens to drown Genji and his attendants right there on the beach. After several days pass "with no rifts in the clouds" (190), Genji tries praying to the gods, as well as the dragon kings in the sea, but the result is only that "thunder crashed louder than ever" and "lightning struck," burning a gallery adjoining Genji's quarters to the ground (192). He and his attendants retreat to a squalid rear building which seems to be a kitchen, and in this "appallingly inappropriate lodging," despite everything, Genji falls asleep and dreams of his father, the deceased emperor: "Get into a boat and leave this coast immediately; let the Sumiyoshi gods be your guides," he is told. In the dream, his father assures him that "this is nothing but a small karmic retribution" (193). Genji awakens, with no feeling of having dreamed: as if the encounter had been real. The next morning, the storm clears, and a small boat comes from Akashi across the bay, with an invitation for Genji to live with the former governor of the province, now a Buddhist novice. And so begins Genji's rise back to his former glory. In Akashi, he enters the liaison which will result in the female child who will one day become empress, and give Genji the most coveted position in the capital: control of the throne through his grandchildren.

The storm which spans the division of the "Suma" and "Akashi" chapters has been the object of much speculation by Japanese scholars (Shirane 14-15). It may be a display of anger at Genji's continued protestations of innocence. The gods know better, and are letting Genji know he is not deceiving them. It may be the vehicle by which Genji is finally cleansed of his sins, in a natural purification ritual ordered by the Sumiyoshi god. Finally, the storm may be necessary to "usher in the supernatural, particularly the Sumiyoshi

god and the spirit of the deceased emperor" (Shirane 14). This last is very plausible, since in Genji's dream, the deceased emperor says he "plunged into the sea and emerged on this shore," implying a connection between the storm and his appearance. Because Genji has the dream about his father, who gives him advice on how to begin his rehabilitation, the last two explanations of the storm are the most satisfying. Genji, whom the storm has cleansed along with the world, is cleared of his sins. The atmosphere of the remainder of the Akashi chapter gradually lightens, with Genji returning to his old self, and his old habits of music, talk, and love. The way has been cleared for him, and he is free to resume his old life.

In Job, God is described as answering Job "out of the whirlwind" (38.1). This is an interesting parallel between the appearance of Genji's father in the middle of a terrible storm, as if violent weather, strong winds, thunder, and beating rains are often the heralds of the arrival of supernatural figures. The footnote to this passage of Job says that whirlwinds were "a frequent setting of theophanies, i.e. divine appearances" (Job 38.1–40.2). Perhaps the fear which catches our throats at the sight of uncontrollable violence, such as seen in a massive hurricane or a desert tornado, is similar to that which terrifies us at the appearance of a god figure. In both cases, the divine appearance is a longed-for event: Genji "had been vouchsafed a brief but vivid glimpse of the face for which he had yearned" (193); Job finds his former hearsay knowledge of God replaced by a vision: "I had heard of you by the hearing of the ear, but now my eye sees you." (42.5) Both are satisfied that the visions are real, and hold personal meaning for them.

Thus, both Job and Genji, at the lowest points of their times of trial, are visited by visions of divine or supernatural beings, who directly intervene to set things to rights. They have not been abandoned, they are not forgotten, and their restorations begin with the realization that their faith in their divine sponsors is not in vain. After losing everything they valued most, and then suffering their friends' abandonment or fierce weather, both survive an encounter with the divine to return to even greater heights than before.

NOTES

1. All page numbers refer to the McCullough edition.

WORKS CITED

- Bowring, Richard. *Murasaki Shikibu: The tale of Genji*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Habel, Norman C. *The Book of Job, with commentary*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975.
- McCullough, Helen C. *Genji & Heiki: Selections from The Tale of Genji and The Tale of the Heike*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994.
- New Revised Standard Version Bible*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Shirane, Hirano. *The Bridge of Dreams: A Poetics of 'The Tale of Genji'*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1987.

MASTER AND SLAVE IN KAWABATA'S *YUKIGUNI*

Joshua Petitto, *East Asian Languages and Literatures*

ABSTRACT

This paper analyzes the relationship between *Yukiguni*'s Shimamura and Komako using the Hegelian Master/Slave narrative, which outlines a dialectical relationship where a Master, interpreted as Shimamura, forces a Slave, Komako, to labor for him in order to satisfy his own desires. However, the relationship in *Yukiguni* never reaches the dialectical synthesis Hegel speaks of; it remains only forever on the verge of achieving it.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Kawabata Yasunari's (1899–1972) *Yukiguni* ("Snow Country," 1947) tells the story of a dilettante Shimamura, his encounter with a mountain geisha named Komako, and their subsequent, doomed love affair. Many discussions on the novel tend to focus on Komako, and justifiably so since she is the heroine of the novel; however, one cannot afford to underestimate the role that Shimamura plays as observer. Although the narrator speaks in the third person, he is so closely associated to Shimamura's perspective that the two merge into one: the story comes directly to the reader, unmediated, through Shimamura, including the portrait of Komako.¹ At the same time, the relationship goes beyond simple observer and observed; their affair has echoes of something much more dangerous and compelling. In another narrative, advanced by the philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831), a Master forces a Slave to labor for him in order to satisfy his desires. While Shimamura plays the role of a looking glass, through which the reader views Komako, he also has characteristics of the Master, and Komako his Slave. As Master, Shimamura uses Komako to create his own sense of self, in the process making her into an object; Komako, meanwhile, fulfills Shimamura's desires at the price of her own, leaving her in a position to transform herself and shake off the shackles of slavery for freedom.

2.0 MASTER/SLAVE DIALECTIC

The German philosopher G.W.F. Hegel originated this dialectic in his *Phenomenology of Spirit* (1807), but Alexandre Kojève (1902–1968), a French philosopher, later reformulated it in the 1930s through an anthropological lens. Both posit history as a struggle between Master and Slave, where the Slave labors for the Master, yet through his labor is able to overcome the Master and achieve freedom. In order for the Master to become Master and the slave Slave, there must first be a struggle that has as its impetus human desire. Human desire has a meaning peculiar to both Hegel and Kojève—they define human desire in terms of its opposite: animal desire. Animal desire, such as the desire for food, is a negating desire that leads to the acquisition, indigestion, and subsequent destruction of an object. Human desire on the other hand does not aim itself at something that can be directly acquired, but something intangible: "humans do not desire a given being or object; rather, they desire the desire of others" (Barnett 16). This "desire for desire" has an interesting consequence: namely that, in desiring another's desire, one also demands recognition from the other. This need for recognition leads to a struggle, where one of the combatants demands the desire of the other to such an extent he is willing to sacrifice his own life in order to obtain it. The other combatant, unwilling to go to such an extreme for recognition, willingly yields, thus recognizing the other as Master while going unrecognized by him. Since the Slave recognizes him, the Master is assured of his own existence. However, the Master refuses to recognize the Slave, negating the Slave's human existence and relegating him to a mere thing forced to work in order to fulfill the Master's desires. But it is through these labors that the Slave transforms the world, and it is this constructive act that allows him to transform himself. He satiates the Master's desires but must suppress his own, reaping no benefit from his work; for instance, he produces food that he will not eat. This allows him to overcome his own nature. The Slave is the only one capable of this transformation, the only one who labors and educates himself through his labors, allowing him to dialectically overcome the Master and negate Slavery.

3.0 SHIMAMURA'S DESIRE FOR RECOGNITION

3.1. The Lack of Self-Consciousness

Shimamura has moments when he feels spiritually lost. Many scholars in fact tend to describe him as scattered and broken or disconnected from his past as well as his present (Washburn 255). Early on in *Yukiguni*, Shimamura is described as having a tendency "to lose his honesty with himself" (*majimesa mo ushinai-gachi*) (Kawabata 17). His sojourns to the mountains, he says, tend to restore this in him, but the fact that he has to repeat them speaks to their ineffectiveness. Shimamura overlaps with the Master in that, prior to being recognized, he does not have the self-consciousness of which Kojève speaks. Komako, the geisha he meets, can help reestablish what he refers to as his "honesty with himself"; he, in other words, needs her recognition in order to give him a sense of his own individual humanity or bring coherency to his broken existence.

3.2. Recognition Through Love

In Kojève's estimation, "in the relationship between man and woman ... Desire is human only if one desires, not the body, but the Desire of the other ... that is to say, he wants to be 'desired' or 'loved,' or, rather, 'recognized' in his human value" (6). Shimamura does not actively pursue this love/recognition, but he does desire it. Love, for Shimamura, is tied up in the notion of purity and it is this purity, with himself as its center, for which he longs. This love, distilled and unconditional, can manifest itself in only a few forms, the love of a mother for her child is one such example. On several occasions Shimamura observes such motherly characteristics in Komako. For instance, the night that Shimamura realizes she has fallen in love with him, Komako repeats his name over and over again, and Shimamura is soothed by it: "Everything is all right." His voice was serene. "Everything is all right again." He sensed something a little motherly in her" (Kawabata 35). Later, there is a scene where Komako and Shimamura drink sake together. Shimamura, who does not drink often, falls slightly ill: "He closed his eyes and fell back on the quilt. Komako put her arms around him in alarm. A childlike feeling of security came to him from the warmth of her body. She seemed ill at ease, like a young woman, still childless, who takes a baby up in her arms" (Kawabata 146). Shimamura feels at ease and secure, not when he exists in the presence of this sort of love, but when he sits at the focal point of it. Though he does not pursue it as actively as the Master in Hegel's narrative, Shimamura nonetheless, in an effort to make his own existence whole, substitutes himself as the woman's desired value, an encounter which provides the recognition that he needs.²

4.0. KOMAKO AS SLAVE

4.1. Dehumanizing Komako

Additionally, because the Slave goes unrecognized by the Master, he does not exist as a person, but instead lives out the life of something less than human. Corresponding to this, Shimamura draws Komako in animalistic terms, observing at one point that "she seemed on edge, like some restless night beast (*yakō dōbutsu*) that fears the approach of the morning" (Kawabata 47). Even her body takes on animal-like characteristics. When Shimamura gazes at the skin beneath her white geisha makeup, the narrator comments: "There was something sad about the full flesh under that white powder. It suggested a woolen cloth, and again it suggested the pelt of some animal (*dōbutsu jimite mieta*)" (Kawabata 130). Describing Komako in terms of an animal realizes the passion within her, but it also dehumanizes her.

4.2. The Labor of Love

The Slave's role demands that he work in order to satisfy the Master's desires, all the while suppressing his own. As a mountain geisha, Komako must do what she can to maintain a reputation that could easily become a reprehensible one were she to fall for one of her clients. A city geisha has a steady base of clients and it would not be thought inappropriate if she were to become involved with one of them. In contrast, a country geisha's clients consist of travelers, and if she were to form a relationship with one of them, he would not be able to provide the same support. If society were to learn of her affair with Shimamura, she would become, at worst, an object of ridicule and, at best, something for them to gossip and tease. Superficially, Komako seems unperturbed at the likelihood that her relationship with Shimamura has ruined her reputation, but it does gnaw at her. The only way for her to preserve her name would be to call an end to the affair or, in other words, bring an end to her labor, but Komako, described as a "beggar who has lost all desire" (*muyoku-na kojiki*), does not seem capable of such a total disassociation (Kawabata 42). In loving Shimamura, she must repress her own instincts along with

the logical desire to be loved in return. According to the Master/Slave dialectic, the act of laboring leads to the Slave's transcendence.

5.0. THE DILEMMA OF THE MASTER

Before entering into a discussion on Komako's transcendence, one must first acknowledge Shimamura's existential dilemma as Master. The Master's consciousness is necessarily mediated by a second consciousness—the Slave's—which the Master can recognize only as a thing, an object. This means that the Master remains flawed and partial. Additionally, the Master must deal with other repercussions of his ascension to power: because he does not work, he “produces nothing stable outside of himself” and only “consumes the products of the Slave's work. Thus, his enjoyment and his satisfaction remain purely subjective ... Accordingly, this ‘consumption,’ this idle enjoyment of the Master's ... can never give him complete and definitive satisfaction” (Kojève 24). Shimamura, the idler and dilettante, similarly knows that he can produce nothing stable outside of himself, and whatever enjoyment he does derive from his consumption of Komako's love can be savoured only by him. His own armchair scholarship on the Occidental ballet is another example: the only pleasure he derives from it is the pleasure of sneering at himself, believing it to contribute nothing to the outside world. The Master too seems to realize the impasse he has reached, but Shimamura parts from that archetype in that he sees beyond himself, to the fact that Komako, who gives all of her love without reserve, lives more earnestly than the man who idly receives it. In spite of the realization that she leads her life more fully, he never recognizes her as human, nor as anything less than an ideal.

6.0. KOMAKO'S 'TRANSCENDENCE'

Komako's love, as already mentioned, is an intensely personal product created for Shimamura and Shimamura alone. In creating it, she does not affect the rest of the world, and once Shimamura has consumed it, no trace of it remains behind. This has a direct bearing on Komako's later “transcendence”. Kojève writes that unless the Slave transforms the objective world, his transformation will remain purely subjective or private. He will then be at variance with the outside world, which is unchanged, and rather than attaining freedom, the Slave's change will make him into a “madman or criminal, who is sooner or later annihilated by the natural and social objective reality” (Kojève 28). Though Komako has no doubt transformed herself, she has only done so internally, her product too personal to touch the outside world. The outside world in fact appears indifferent to such a private labor. In the end, she will still have the reputation within society as a country geisha that has fallen for a traveler. The social reality will force Komako to leave the mountain town, and in spite of her brave words that she can find work anywhere, one does not get the impression that this is an option to be embraced, but rather feared. Some of that is perhaps adumbrated in the closing paragraphs of the novel, where Komako rushes into a fire to save another woman, Yōko. When Komako rushes back to where Shimamura stands, Yōko at her breast, she cries out, “‘Keep back. Keep back, please... This girl [Yōko] is insane. She's insane.’ He [Shimamura] tried to move toward that half-mad voice” (Kawabata 175). Komako claims Yōko is insane, but Shimamura notes that it is Komako's voice which is “half-mad” (*mono-guruwashii*). In terms of the Master-Slave dialectic, Komako halts before reaching the synthesis that Hegel first spoke of; she may have transformed herself, but only on the internal level. Now “at variance” with the outside world, she will soon have to leave the mountain village.

7.0. CONCLUSION

Komako might share much in common with the Slave, and Shimamura with the Master, but neither one is limited to such roles; they are clearly much more than such caricatures. Shimamura, for instance, knows his life lacks some vital element, and he journeys to the snow country in an attempt to search it out. When he meets Komako, he can see that vitality, which is absent in him, present in her. His attraction to her springs from his recognition that she lives that way in every aspect of her life. *Yukiguni* allows the reader a glimpse into a world of extraordinary beauty, each vignette a moving distillation of the world as Kawabata saw it. Komako, in turn, is a distillation of Shimamura. She is the image of tragic beauty and tragic love, but she is always an ideal, and as such, her presence reminds us also of what is absent in Shimamura, perhaps because we ourselves are moved by her, what is absent in us as well.

NOTES

1. This characteristic is also a feature of the Japanese *shishōsetsu* (I-novel), a form that attempts to present an image of sincerity by limiting the narrative to one perspective. In spite of its name, the I-novel can feature a third-person narrator, but because the narrator limits his perspective to the protagonist, it too has this characteristic of "sincerity," since it does not try and convey anything beyond that one character.
2. Shimamura and Komako also have a client-geisha relationship, which could be viewed as a contradiction to the reading of *Yukiguni* as a Master-Slave relationship since the geisha must do as the client demands. However, Komako does not actually become a geisha until later in the novel. Shimamura visits the snow country on three occasions, and it is only on the second visit that Shimamura learns Komako has sold herself into geisha-hood. Just as Shimamura and Komako's affair is not pre-determined by a client-geisha relationship, neither is the Master-Slave structure a foreordained conclusion.

WORKS CITED

- Barnett, Stuart. "Introduction: Hegel Before Derrida." *Hegel After Derrida*. Ed. Stuart Barnett. New York: Routledge, 1998. 1-37.
- Kawabata Yasunari. *Snow Country*. Trans. Edward G. Seidensticker. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1996.
- Kojève, Alexandre. *Introduction to the Reading of Hegel*. Trans. James H. Nichols, Jr. New York: Basic Book, Inc., 1969.
- Washburn, Dennis C. *The Dilemma of the Modern in Japanese Fiction*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.

"TO A NOSE" AS A "PANOPTICON" OF THE JEWS IN SPAIN

Elena Villa Fernández de Castro, Department of Languages and Literatures of Europe and the Americas,
Spanish Division

ABSTRACT

The poem "A una nariz," by Francisco de Quevedo (1580–1645), is part of the Foucaultian "panopticon" established by the Inquisition and the anti-Semitic laws controlling the Jews in 17th century Spain. Quevedo creates a grotesque image of the Jews in which a deformed nose serves as metaphor for a super-sized phallus. The goal is to create an "otherness" which is dangerous for society, since that deformation threatens the health and the economy of Catholicism. Accepting the theory that this is also an attack against Góngora (the author's literary enemy), the poem shows how Quevedo takes part in the "panopticon".

1.0. INTRODUCTION

This work will demonstrate that "A una nariz" ("To a Nose") by Francisco de Quevedo (1580–1645) is part of the "panopticon" established by the Spanish government on the converses (descendants of the families having been converted from Judaism to Catholicism) in the 17th century. It will also look at the possibility of this poem having been a weapon thrown by Quevedo (the author) to his literary enemy Góngora (coetaneous Spanish poet). In order to do so, this work will open with a brief summary of Quevedo's style of "conceptism" which is used in this poem, as well as the Foucaultian type of panopticon that had been taking place in Spain since the Middle Ages. It will be followed by an analysis of anti-Semitic elements in the poem. This analysis will use different theories such as structuralism and the study of language use to see: (1) how the poem develops to its anti-Semitic "nucleus"; (2) the treatment of the sign to see through Quevedo's technique of conceptism; the game of signifiers and signified; and (3) the game of linking surprising images to obtain the desired effect of disgust. This effect will be related to the use of the grotesque and irony in the poem, in which we will see Bakhtinian elements (although not all of Bakhtin's theory). We will see how and why this grotesqueness and wittiness are used as elements of a very resourceful technique. Next, the analysis will look at the use of sex in the poem through the identification of the nose with a phallus, with the help of the Freudian comments of Maurice Molho. Finally, after the analysis of anti-Semitism in the poem, this work will try to connect it with the world of 17th century Spain to determine how the image of this "other" Jew is created and controlled, and what role the poem played in this context.

2.0. THE SPANISH PANOPTICON AND QUEVEDO

At the end of the Middle Ages (end of the 15th century approximately), Spain finds its war of *Reconquista* (the reconquest by the Christians of the territories occupied by the Moors) finally ended with the triumph of the Christian faction. The Catholic monarchs found themselves having to pay the loans of the Jewish bankers who had lent them the money to pay for the long war. This is one of the reasons (plus an already existing anti-Semitism that dated from ancient times) for which Fernando, King of Aragon, and his wife Isabel, Queen of Castilla decided to establish the first mechanism of control over the Jews in relation to the panopticon that Foucault describes in his article "Discipline and Punish". The king and queen created a law obligating every Jew to either leave the country or convert to Catholicism. After this first law in 1493, the tribunal of the Holy Inquisition watched so that Jewish rituals and practices would not take place. With the passing of time, this control continued, and an image of the Jew as a dangerous "other" that needed to be very controlled developed with it. In this sense, we can connect to the "otherness" created in the 19th century by European empires to justify their power and occupation over other nations (such as the case of British control over India). Edward Said talks about this idea in his article "Orientalism," referring to the concept of occupation of the "Orient".

The Inquisition therefore would watch for the safety of the Christian faith to prevent it from being polluted by the "other," the Jew, considered as a dangerous threat for the Christian society. In order to do this, the Spanish government, with the support of the Inquisition, created the *estatutos de limpieza de sangre*, documents by which people were able to demonstrate how they came from families of "clean blood" (not Semitic blood). In this way, people were able to have access to government positions and claim nobility titles,

and were not subjected to the Inquisition processes that could drive them to death. Families of converts would always live in fear because the tribunal of the Inquisition would open cases on them with minimum suspicion (such as the denouncement by a neighbor; García de Cortázar 228). This is an example of Foucaultian panopticon. The government controlled through institutions that monitored closely the “other” that had been created. The Jews became the “other,” first because of their economic value (as the bankers of the Monarchy), and then because they were portrayed as sinners, traitors, and deformed human beings. This “other” is controlled by law and by the Inquisition, the two main institutions that were trying to conserve the Christian balance that had been established.

Quevedo, author from the 17th century, was part of this panopticon, participating in it through his poetry as a way of denunciation. Being the preeminent representative of a style called conceptism (consisting of the creation of complicated and cultured images linked to each other), his biggest enemy was another well-known poet, Góngora. Góngora himself was one of these Christians of a converted family, unable to prove his purity of blood. The literary rivalry that he had with Quevedo, made for a spiteful literary relationship (see Appendix 1 for an example) and even the publishing of terrible poems falsely attributed to one another. Cuddon, in his *Dictionary of Literary Terms*, gives an interesting definition of conceptism, connecting it with the idea already presented in the enmity between Góngora and Quevedo. In this sense, he says that conceptism is:

a literary practice and attitude in 17th c. Spain and very closely associated with the *culteranismo* of the same time. For the sake of convenience Góngora may be taken as the best representative of *culteranismo* and Lope de Vega as *conceptismo*. The leader of the *conceptismo* party was Francisco Gómez de Quevedo... he was the sworn enemy of *culteranismo* and between 1626 and 1635 wrote many satires against this movement and its devotees. The *conceptistas* disapproved of obscure references, arcane (and archaic) language and any kind of hermeticism. They insisted that language should be precise, correct and idiomatic in the pure sense. Yet they did favor the use of conceits—especially the metaphor and pun—hence their title. (150)

Cuddon also defines the term “conceit,” which he says is used in conceptism. He states that:

By c. 1600 the term was still being used as a synonym for ‘thought’ and as roughly equivalent to ‘conceit,’ ‘idea’ and ‘conception... As a literary term this word has come to denote a fairly elaborate figurative device of a fanciful kind which often incorporates metaphor, simile, hyperbole or oxymoron and which is intended to surprise and delight by its wit and ingenuity. (144).

With these observations, there is created a base that will help to explain this poem as part of the panopticon described. Next will come the analysis of the anti-Semitic components in the poem.

3.0. ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE POEM

“A una nariz” (see Appendix 2) contains the majority of its anti-Semitism in the last trio, which is what Barthes would call the “nucleus” of the poem (93), one of the points full of meaning (this definition of nucleus will be used in this work). Until this nucleus, the theme is being developed with Quevedo’s technique of conceptism through the use of linking metaphors. A structural and semiotic analysis will be done to illustrate this. At the same time, I will use part of the Carnival theory to show how Quevedo creates the effect of deformation, grotesqueness and wit in order to make an “other” of the Jew with the big nose.

3.1. Structure of the Poem and Use of the Language

Everything in the structure of this poem takes us to its “nucleus”. This is why this analysis will follow the thread of the structure to see how this is developed. The poem is a sonnet with four strophes, two quartets and two trios, all of which contain verses of eleven syllables and consonant rhyme. The structure of a sonnet is binomial by definition: this is two different kinds of strophes and two strophes of each kind. The rhyme could also be considered binomial because it repeats the structure, making little changes in the sounds: ABBA BAAB CDC CDC. This poem, however, does not follow the traditional binomial rhyme that sonnets usually have. The last trio of the poem follows the schema DCD, that is, it inverts the tradition and breaks with the sonnet’s structure. The fact that it does this at the last trio connects with the thesis of this work because this last strophe

is where Quevedo throws the bomb that he has been preparing during the whole poem. The form is changed to call attention to it.

The first three strophes follow the same kind of structure. Almost every verse starts with "once upon a time" (*érase*), which is the traditional form of beginning a fairy tale in Spanish. This *érase* is always followed by the thing that once was (a noun) and the quality that it had (an adjective or other sort of modifier). Two verses break with this structure in the three first strophes. Verses number eight and eleven, both being the last verses of their strophes, mark in this way a point of pause and separation in the structure of the poem. The fact that the verses have almost identical structures reflects the creation of a satirical tension in the poem. The images of the nose are repeated one after another, making the poem grow until the last strophe. The enumeration is repeated driving the poem upwards towards the resolution. The last strophe starts with the same formula established in the first verse, but the structure is broken in the next two verses, giving a conclusion to the content of the poem. This part is therefore what Barthes calls the nucleus (93), because it is not only the climax of the poem's content, but also the climax of the poem's physical structure. The climax is physically shown in the poem not only with the change of structure, but also with a repetition of the word nose. This repetition creates a binary composition that emphasizes the meaning of the word (verse thirteen).

The general organization of the structure combines with a very determinate use of the language that tries to create the carnivalesque effect that Bakhtin speaks of in his article "Rabelais and His World". Although not all of the elements of this carnival theory are present in the poem, they will be used (the deformation, the growth of the body parts, the grotesque, and so forth) because this will facilitate the presentation of the thesis of deformation in the Semitic nose. The repetition of sounds at the beginning of each verse creates a certain musicality in the enumeration that is taking place. The musicality is present in the poem, not only through this repetition, but also with the structure of the poem that has the form of a certain enumeration of things. If this poem is read in a high voice, it sounds musical in its words, almost song-like. The importance of this musicality is that it is broken at the end of the same poem. It breaks with the two last verses, those which explain the poem and that have been defined as the nucleus. There is another repetition of phonemes that better exemplifies the grotesque effect I have mentioned. Specifically, this is the repetition of the phonemes /n/ and /m/ in verses eight, twelve and thirteen, both of which give crude nasal sounds to the poem. In this way, a poem about a nose, when read, creates the grotesque effect that it depicts.

3.2. Treatment of the Sign

The treatment of the sign in the poem relates to the technique of conceptism. Quevedo is considered to be the most important figure of this literary style, one aspect of which is the enumeration of images that link to each other with no apparent connection (although we will see that in reality they are connected). Each of the verses of this poem contains concepts and images which alter the contract of rationality made by society. In a way, this relates to what Saussure describes in his "Course in General Linguistics" about the social side of speech. He says, "image becomes associated with a concept... it exists only by the virtue of a sort of contract signed by the members of a community" (76). In this way, Quevedo takes what we socially accept as normal images, and deforms them completely. In so doing, he is "breaking, rupturing and altering the previous social contract".¹ This is how through the use of the grotesque, Quevedo takes us to the creation of a disgusting "other".

The first verse describes a man stuck to a nose, when it would usually be, to the contrary, a nose stuck to a man.² With this hyperbolic image, the poem makes the size of the nose grow to a point that breaks the social contract of rationality aforementioned, in which a nose is part of a man and not a man is part of a nose. Such an exaggeration and deformation takes us to Bakhtin and his Carnival Theory, in which he explores these components of the grotesque and their effects in the work of Rabelais. "A una nariz" can relate to Bakhtin's theory in the way that it uses a body part known for its tendency to leak and make disturbing noises. The poem deforms this image until it converts into something completely grotesque. In the same way, it will produce the effect of disgust that William Ian Miller analyzes in his *Anatomy of Disgust*. This, however, will be better explained later. At the moment, it is important to mention that the image of a big, enormous nose is being created.

The second verse also plays with meaning because it applies the adjective "superlative" (*superlativa*) to a nose, which could be "big" or "enormous" but never superlative by definition: superlative "describes a

degree of excellence a quality and not a size"³, for which a play on meaning happens in the fact that it connects two terms that do not normally work together. In this way, verse number two uses this word play in which the adjective does not match the meaning of the noun, in order to give a greater grotesque effect to the size of the nose.

The metaphor is repeated in the third verse. The shape of an "alembic" (*alquitara*) represents a container with a long tube through which the distilled liquid goes out. "Deep in thought" (*pensativa*) gives the idea of somebody inclining his/her back in a thoughtful position. In this way an alembic being inclined gives a physical image of, again, a big nose, playing in this way, with the signified of two different signifiers. Here, the two signifiers are the sound-word of: man "deep in thought" and the nose; and the signified is the idea of a big curve that both signifiers represent.⁴ The deformation continues in the next verse, with another metaphor in this dense chain of concepts. A "swordfish" (*peje espada*), known for its long sword-nose, represents the big nosed man of whom the poem speaks.⁵ The part of the Bakhtinian carnival that talks about the growth of the body is here again with this deformation and corporeal excess.

The next verse with the "ill-adjusted sundial" (*reloj de sol*) follows the same structure with its metaphor of a big nose in a protuberance (the stick of the solar clock) that goes out from a flat surface. This discourse developed through metaphors that link verse to verse is part of the definition of conceptism, but also connects to Jakobson's article "Two Aspects of Language" in which he affirms that:

The development of a discourse may take place along two different semantic lines: one topic may lead to another either through their similarity or through their contiguity. The metaphoric way would be the most appropriate term for the first case and metonymic way for the second. (91)

The enumeration of metaphors without apparent connection continues in verse number six, which continues playing with signifiers. Through their physical similarity, the metaphors create the idea of a big curved body part. An "elephant upside down" (*elefante boca arriba*) shows a great stomach similar to the profile of an inverted big nosed man. The hyperbolic image and the grotesque take us again to Bakhtinian carnival and his growth and body parts.

The seventh verse uses two interesting words: "sayon" (*constable*), which means executioner, and "scribe" (*escriba*), which is the term used to call Hebrew law interpreters. Molho names this verse as the first direct reference in the poem to the Jews (the first direct one because he sees other indirect references in the verses 3 and 4). He points out that traditionally, the Western civilization has accused the Jews of being the executioners of Jesus Christ (63). Since this is a traditional accusation made to the Jews, the poem is relating the big nose to a description of Jewish people. Maurice Molho makes another interpretation of this accusation using psychoanalytical theory to explain that the Jews killed their father as Oedipus killed his father, although there are some elements missing here to interpret it as an Oedipus complex of the Jews. We will find the castration after the death of the father, that Molho relates in the poem to Anas with no nose (assuming nose as a phallus), and relate it to the Jewish practice of circumcision. However there is not a mother that the Jews are in love with, and this is an important part of the theory that is not present. At any rate, whether or not psychoanalysis completely explains the poem, I will focus on the interpretation of the nose as a phallus, because this will help develop the Foucaultian interpretation. Nevertheless, I will come back to this problem later.

The last verse of the last quartet makes another exaggeration saying that this big nosed man is even "nosier" (*más narizado*) than Ovid Nason, a classical writer with a cognomen "Naso" from the Latin word *Naso*, *nasonis* (m), which has been traditionally confused with the word *nasus*, *nasi* (m). The first word is part of a family name, the second word is the one used to say nose. Quevedo, as a very cultured poet, would probably have known the difference between these two words, but he takes the similarity of the sounds and the traditional confusion (that takes place even today) again to give a big size to the nose being described. It is "nosier": this is a bigger nose than the nose of somebody who had such a big nose and whose name even talked about it: "Naso".⁶ Continuing with the technique of exaggeration and metaphor usage, verse number nine is another example in which the "prow of a galley" (*espolón de una galera*) represents the curve of the nose.⁷ Similarly, in the next verse, "pyramid" (*pirámide*) can be seen as representing the magnitude of the man's profile.

The tenth verse shows the other term which Jakobson refers to in his article: the metonymy. The poem names the "twelve tribes of noses" (*doce tribus de narices*), using noses instead of people. This is the part for the whole and with this, the part is enhanced in importance. The twelve tribes connect again with the Jewish faith and the anti-Semitic tone of the poem. In this way, this man is not just a man with a big nose, but twelve tribes of men with big noses. Molho says, relating to this, that there is a traditional mythology that talks about Jews as big-nosed people (60).

Continuing with the analysis of the enumeration of images and concepts, we will go now to verse number twelve, which accentuates the grotesque size of the nose. The component, *-ísimo* is added in Spanish to adjectives in order to make them superlative ("the most," "the biggest," and so forth), as in *naricísimo* "norishness". Also, the manipulation of language gives effect to the word *naricísimo* emphasizing it with the following adjective: "infinite" (*infinito*), a sign with a signified that should not be describing a nose. The concept of something infinite is one of impossible application to a nose. In doing this, the grotesque image grows in the power of its effect.

The last verses (thirteen and fourteen) are the nucleus of the poem because they close the sentence that has been opened in the first verse. Verse thirteen enunciates again a metonymy: *muchísimo nariz* "very much of a nose". *Muchísimo* in masculine gender does not coordinate with *nariz* (feminine), but is used in this way because *nariz* is a representation of a whole, the man (*hombre*), which is a masculine gender word. The two verses are not connected in the enumerative way as in the previous ones. Verse fourteen follows saying that the big nose is so big that even in the face of *Anas*, it is a crime. *Anas* plays a double role here: (1) he is one of the Jews of the Gospel; and (2) the letters in his name have a meaning: the prefix *a-* means "without" in Spanish and *-nas* relates to the word *nariz* "nose". Thus, *Anas* was a Jew, and not just any Jew, he was one of the priests that was in charge when Pontius Pilates asked the Jews to decide who they would like to put to death.⁸ Hence, he is an important Jew, and also one without a nose. In this sense, the poem's nose turns out to be nothing, but it is still a crime. The crime is in being a Jew, not in having a big nose.

3.3. The Nose as a Phallus

After the description of each of the metaphors in the poem, I have examined another problem of meaning, the one of understanding the nose as a phallus. Molho, in his article "Una cosmogonía antisemita: *Erase un hombre a una nariz pegado*," does not have any doubt about this matter (seeing the nose as a phallus). The connection between the two of them is apparent. Iffland adds that Quevedo has a tendency to deform parts of the human anatomy and compare them to other parts (136), which would work perfectly in this case since we are seeing a comparison of the nose with the phallus. In this line of thought, Miller also relates the nose to sex, although he tends to focus this relation in the smell and in the rise of desire that it creates, and not so much on the shape similarity of nose-phallus (66–88). Miller also connects the mucus of the nose to the semen as a "substance that embarrass as well as disgusts" (93).

Understanding the big nose described in the poem as a big phallus, we can see how the Jew is deformed sexually. This is where he becomes a sexual deviant, and here, the equivalence and similarity of meanings connect with Foucault's theory of the "History of Sexuality". As sexual deviants with abnormal phalluses, the Jews need to be controlled so that they do not damage society and its morality (that is, the morality established by the Catholic Church).

The nose therefore plays a double meaning here, one of a big nose representing the Jews, related to the idea that even an important Jew without a nose is still a dangerous man. The nose also gives the Jews a connotation of being monsters with deformed sexual genitals. Molho continues in his article with the psychoanalytic analysis of the nose-phallus saying that *Anas*, being ultimately responsible for the death of Christ (the killing of the father), has to go through castration (like Oedipus did taking his eyes away). Related to this castration are the idea of the Jew without a nose and that of the practice of circumcision that Quevedo supposedly connects with this (76). I will utilize the relation made between nose-phallus and the deformation created for both.

If we understand the nose as a phallic symbol, we could admit that its size has two directions of understanding. It could be understood as a super potent virility member, as Molho explains: "*imágenes que en la mente del antisemita tradicional han ocurrido para forjar la representación fantástica y ambivalente del*

Judío: superhombre hiperviril, libidinoso y que no respeta la ley moral de la Iglesia ("images that in a traditional anti-Semitic mind have created the fantastic and ambivalent representation of the Jew: the super-virile superman, libidinous and the man disrespectful of the moral law of the Church") (76).⁹ In this case, the Jew would be dangerous for the state's economy and moral health, since the Jews were known for being the most important money lenders of the Monarchy and were thought to accumulate too much wealth. With the Jews having a bigger capacity to reproduce, the state would loose economic and moral power.

In the other analytical line of thought, the exaggerated sexual member could be understood as one having such deformation that it breaks the rules of sexual conception, for which reproduction would not be possible and therefore, the Jews would not be resourceful elements of production. Molho's interpretation of the enormous nose-phallus supports this analysis. He talks about the representation of the Jew as *"enfermizo, enclenque, contrahecho y que, sujeto a una menstruación como una mujer pasa por una especie de infrahombre despreciable y ridículo"* (sick, weak, poorly made and who, like a woman having a menstruation, he becomes some kind of half man, despicable and ridiculous) (76).¹⁰ Thus, Molho identifies the Jew with another example of "otherness" in the time: women, considered weak elements of society. Connecting the nose with the deformed sexual member and the leak of the nose with the menstruation of women, he establishes his thesis of the Jews being represented as weak through the identification with women. In both analyses, being "super potent" or being "impotent," the Jews' sexuality is represented as something that needs to be controlled because economically, it is not useful, following Foucault's ideas about sexuality and its economic function in society ("History of Sexuality," 682).

4.0. THE GROTESQUE IN THE POEM

It has been explained how Quevedo, through the structure of the poem, the use of language, and the use of complicated images, has constructed a very deformed image of the Jews. The Bakhtinian elements that have been used (the element of representation of the body parts as enormous) have created an image of the Jews as "others". These "others" are created and treated in the poem as an object. They are objectified through their description as a nose. Iffland names this technique of treating body parts as objects as something typical of Quevedo's writing, saying that "he subjects the different parts of the human body to deformation" (134). One of the goals of this deformation is to create an "other" as an object. This is related to the ideas that Said explores in his article "Orientalism," in which he considers this creation of the "other" as a way to justify the control over this "other" (876-877). The same could be said here: the deformation of the Jews through their noses (or their phalluses) makes them a different "other" and this legitimizes the "normal," "non-deformed" Christians control over them.

There is another effect of the grotesque representation of the Jews. Iffland talks about how Quevedo uses wit and the grotesque together in his composition, creating the emotional responses of laughter in the reader. Molho sees in this laughter a way of making the reader part of the anti-Semitic critique. When the reader laughs at the poem's wittiness, he participates in the deformation that makes the Jews into "other" creatures (78). In this way, the poem has the capacity to include the reader in something else besides the amusement of poetry, this being the system of control and creation of the "other".

Returning to the idea of the grotesque and the deformation as a creation of the "other", Miller makes an interesting comment about smell in his chapter on the senses (66-88). He says that odors have been understood as vehicles of contagion that carry diseases (66) and that have the power of contamination (67). In this sense, we could say that big noses that can contain big smells, should be controlled to protect the hygiene of society. Miller also says that smell can play an important role in the theme of disgust that he analyzes, "especially smell related to lower body parts: genitals and anus" (75). If we take our connection of the nose and the penis, we can see how these two are following Miller's ideas about smell and genitals that create the effect of disgust. It is also worth saying that Iffland points out Quevedo's use of scatological images of the anus replacing the nose, as he does in another of his poems "Romance de la roma" (139-140).

It is obvious therefore that Quevedo uses the grotesque and irony in order to create an image of the Jews as "others" and to make the reader participate in the anti-Semitic tone of the poem through laughter.

5.0. THE ‘PANOPTICON’ AND THE POEM

The “other” is created as a dangerous and deformed creature, making necessary a need for control. In his article “Discipline and Punish,” Foucault describes how societies have had a tendency to control through institutions those considered deviants and different from the others. He also describes how these institutions work with the image of the “panopticon,” which represents the way in which these people are controlled and observed, and how they are separated from the rest of society (467). Relating to these ideas, we could say that the tribunal of the Inquisition, as well as the anti-Semitic laws that were controlling the Jews in 17th century Spain, are part of the panopticon system that the Spanish government had in motion. With his poem, Quevedo takes part in this panopticon in different ways: (1) by creating a deviant “other” with a deformed phallus; (2) by portraying the “other” as people that could carry diseases in their big noses; and (3) by depicting them as murderers of Christians (since he uses the idea of Jews being responsible for Jesus Christ’s death). He is therefore giving the basis for the creation of the “other” that needs to be controlled by the government. If we also use the hypothesis that this poem is not just a general description of Jews, but a specific attack on his personal enemy Góngora (who we said had a Semitic family past), we could say that Quevedo is participating more deeply in the government’s system of control. He is doing so by using the poem as a way to denounce, to participate in the system against another person. He is a part of the system of the “panopticon,” since through his poem, he is exposing another person to the view of the controlling authorities. By writing the poem, he is putting the “other” in the public’s point of view, making him a subject of visualization. It is possible therefore to see Quevedo not just as a constructor of the “other,” but also as part of the system of control over the Jews.

6.0. CONCLUSION

The use of language, the structure of the poem, and the treatment of the sign are the tools by which the poem creates a grotesque image of the Jews in 17th century Spain. The grotesque image has a final goal, to create an “other” which is dangerous for society since it is an “other” that is sexually deformed, and puts the health and the economy in danger. The creation of this “other” justifies the existence and the need for the institutions that were part of the Spanish panopticon created to control the Jews. This panopticon appears indirectly in the poem, but is arguably present. Accepting the theory that this poem is a personal attack against Góngora (the author’s enemy) and not solely a general critique of the Jews, we can see how Quevedo participates actively in the system of control, because he is participates in the system through the denouncement of Góngora. Finally, the use of irony, in relation to the grotesque, has also as its goal to make the reader a participant in the anti-Semitism of the poem (through laughter) and a participant in the creation of the “other” as an object.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1. "Contra Góngora" ("Against Góngora"; Quevedo)

¿Qué captas, nocturnal, en tus canciones,	1	What capture you, nocturnal, in your ballads,
Góngora bobo, con crepusculallas,	2	fool Góngora, crepusculating them,
si cuando anhelas más garcivolallas,	3	if when you want to heronfluctuate them,
las reutilizas más y subterpones?	4	they're merely reptilized and subterposed?
Microcósmote Dios de inquiridiones,	5	I microcosmate you God of the pedants;
y quieres te investiguen por medallas	6	and you want them certify your worth
como priscos, estigmas o antiguallas,	7	like bovines, antiquations or stigmata,
por desitinerar vates tirones.	8	just so novitiate bards you'll decompose.
Tu forasteridad es tan eximia,	9	Your exoticity is so commensurate,
que te ha de detractar el que te rumia,	10	that he who ruminates you must detract you,
pues ructas viscerable cacoquimia,	11	since you eruct entrailings of turdalchemy,
farmacofolorando como numia,	12	pharmacopholiating like a numiate,
si estomacabundancia das tan nimia,	13	with your stomachabundance emanating,
Metamorfoseando el arcadumuia.	14	you metamorphosize the archacadumy.

Notes: Example of another poem that also uses the technique of accumulating grotesque concepts to describe Góngora. As in "A una nariz," Quevedo ridiculizes and insults his literary enemy, Góngora, using conceptism

Appendix 2. Quevedo's "A una nariz" ("To a Nose") (Quevedo 345; translation adapted from Cohen 265¹¹).

Erase un hombre a una nariz pegado ,	1	There was once a man stuck to a nose,
érase una nariz superlativa,	2	it was a superlative nose,
érase una alquitara pensativa,	3	it was an alembic deep in thought,
érase un peje espada muy barbado;	4	it was a most hairy swordfish;
era un reloj de sol mal encarado,	5	it was an ill-adjusted sundial,
érase un elefante boca arriba,	6	it was an elephant upside down,
érase una nariz sayón y escriba,	7	it was a constable and scribe of a nose,
un Ovidio Nasón más narizado.	8	it was a nosier Ovidius Naso.
Érase el espolón de una galera,	9	It was the prow of a galley,
érase una pirámide de Egipto,	10	it was a pyramid of Egypt,
las doce tribus de narices era;	11	it was the twelve tribes of noses;
érase un naricísimo infinito,	12	it was an infinity of norishness,
muchísimo nariz, nariz tan fiera,	13	very much of nose, and such a fierce nose
que en la cara de Anás fuera delito	14	that it would be a crime in the face of Annas.

FIGURES

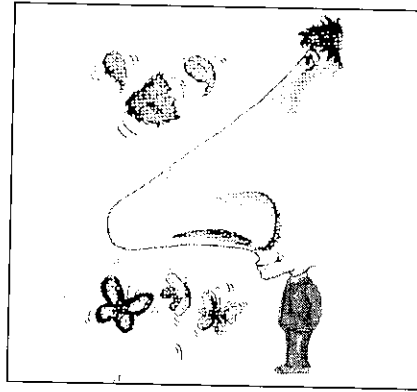


Figure 1. "There was once a man stuck to a nose" (*Érase un hombre a una nariz pegado*)
(Illustration from Llanas)

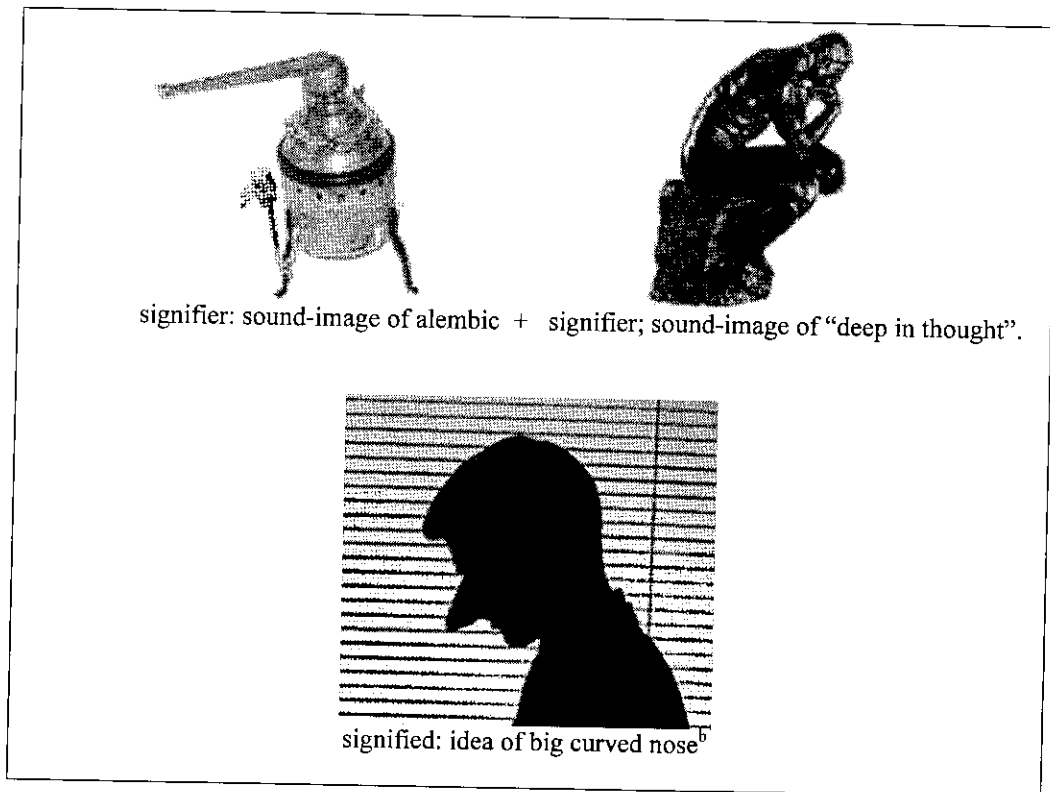


Figure 2. "It was an alembic deep in thought" (*Érase una alquitara pensativa*)
(Illustrations: the alembic and "deep in thought" from *La tercera icarito*; the big curved nose from Barraca)

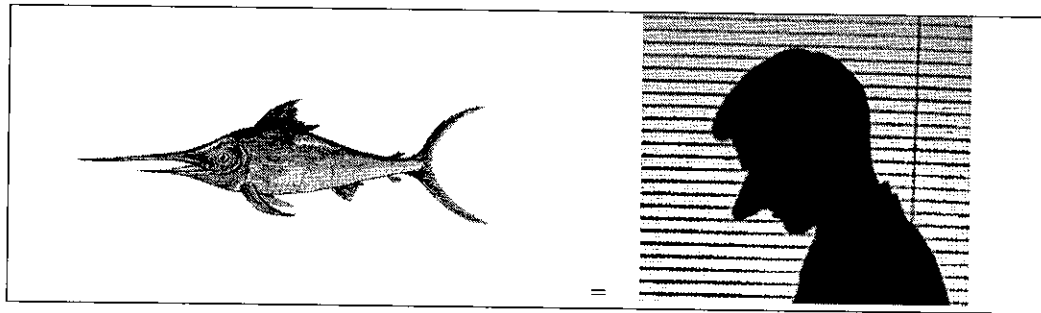


Figure 3. "It was a most hairy swordfish" (*Érase un peje espada muy barbado*)
(Illustrations the swordfish from Wiegardt; the big curved nose from Barraca.)



Figure 4. "It was the prow of a galley" (*Érase el espolón de una galera*)
(Illustrations: the prow of a galley from Piedade; the big curved nose from Barraca)

NOTES

1. These are Dr. Kathryn Hoffmann's words (University of Hawai'i, Department of Languages and Literatures of Europe and the Americas (LLEA)).
2. See Figure 1.
3. These are Dr. Kathryn Hoffmann's words (University of Hawai'i, LLEA Department).
4. See Figure 2.
5. See Figure 3.
6. The help of Dr. Robert J. Ball's conversation (University of Hawai'i, LLEA) and *The New College Latin and English Dictionary* are part of this paragraph.
7. See Figure 4.
8. <http://www.biblehistory.net/caifas.htm> gives Lucas 3: 1–3 as a quote of these two major priests Annas and Caifas.
9. The translation is mine.
10. Ibid.
11. This translation is an adaptation of Cohen's translation. Quevedo went through a lot of editing with this poem and as a result, there are different versions of "A una nariz". Cohen's translation is based on the same poem but with a slightly different order of verses.

WORKS CITED

- Bakhtin, Mikhail. "Rabelais and His World." *Literary Theory: An Anthology*. Ed. Julie Rikvin and Michael Ryan. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1999. 45–52.
- Barraca, Pauda. July 28 2005 <<http://www.paudabarraca.com.br/paginas/nariz.htm>>.
- Barthes, Roland. *Image Music Text*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1977.

- Brooks, Cleanth. "The Formalist Critics." *Literary Theory: An Anthology*. Ed. Julie Rikvin and Michael Ryan. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1998. 52–58.
- Cohen, John M. *The Penguin Book of Spanish Verse*. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1956.
- Cuddon, John A. *A Dictionary of Literary Terms*. Middlesex, UK: Penguin, 1979.
- Foucault, Michel. "Discipline and Punish." *Literary Theory: An Anthology*. Ed. Julie Rikvin and Michael Ryan. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1998. 464–488.
- Foucault, Michel. "History of Sexuality." *Literary Theory: An Anthology*. Ed. Julie Rikvin and Michael Ryan. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1998. 683–692.
- García de Cortázar, Fernando, and José Manuel González Vesga. *Breve historia de España*. Madrid: Alianza, 1994.
- Iffland, James. *Quevedo and the Grotesque*. London: Tamesis Book, 1978.
- Jakobson, Roman. "Two Aspects of Language." *Literary Theory: An Anthology*. Ed. Julie Rikvin and Michael Ryan. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1998. 91–96.
- Quevedo, Francisco de. "Contra Góngora." Trans. Alix Ingber. 1995. Sweet Briar College. 28 July 2005 <<http://sonnets.spanish.sbc.edu>>.
- La tercera icarito*. 28 July 2005 <<http://www.icarito.cl>>.
- Llanas, Sandra. 28 July 2005 <<http://www.sandrallanas.com/images/ilust/nariz.jpg>>.
- Miller, William I. *The Anatomy of Disgust*. Cambridge, UK: Harvard University Press, 1997.
- Molho, Maurice. "Una cosmogonía antisemita: Érase un hombre a una nariz pegado." *Quevedo in Perspective: Eleven Essays for the Quadricentennial: Proceedings from the Boston Quevedo Symposium*. Ed. James Iffland. Cuesta, Newark, 1982. 57–79.
- Piedade, Pedro. July 28 2005 <<http://anomalias.weblog.com.pt/arquivo/proa.jpg>>.
- Quevedo, Francisco de. "Érase un Hombre a Una Nariz Pegado." *Poesía varia*. Ed. James O. Crosby. Madrid: Cátedra, 1994. 345.
- Said, Edward. "Orientalism." *Literary Theory: An Anthology*. Ed. Julie Rikvin and Michael Ryan. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1998. 873–887.
- Saussure, Ferdinand de. "Course in General Linguistics." *Literary Theory: An Anthology*. Ed. Julie Rikvin and Michael Ryan. Malden: Blackwell, 1998. 76–91.
- Traupman, John. *The New College Latin and English Dictionary*. New York: Bantam, 1995.
- Wiegardt, Otto E. July 28 2005 <<http://www.webdelanzarote.com/pesca35.jpg>>.

UNA TRILOGÍA PARA UN NUEVO ESTABLECIMIENTO DE LA IDENTIDAD FLAMENCA

Keiko Shinozuka, Department of Languages and Literatures of Europe and the Americas, Spanish Division

La colaboración entre el director Carlos Saura y el bailar y coreógrafo Antonio Gades se llevó a cabo en la trilogía de las películas relacionadas con el flamenco: *Bodas de sangre* (1981), *Carmen* (1983) y *El amor brujo* (1986). Las tres películas se basan en narrativas previas:¹ *Bodas de sangre* en una obra de teatro, *Carmen* en una novela y ópera, y *El amor brujo* en la música de un ballet. Estas narrativas previas les inspiran a los cineastas-creadores, Gades y Saura, para crear sus propias narratividades y sirven a su vez para desarrollar la estructura de sus películas. En las tres películas se ve una trayectoria de diégesis² por los dos creadores a través de la puesta en escena y el juego entre la realidad y la ficción. Al mismo tiempo, las películas reflejan el momento socio-económico y cultural de la España de los años ochenta. El país se hallaba en un período de transición entre el régimen franquista y la democracia. Los cambios que se daban en el ámbito socio-político se reflejaron también en la cultura, mostrando ésta a su vez una transición hacia la expresión más libre. Este ensayo tiene la meta de analizar las motivaciones artísticas y socio-políticas de Gades y Saura, quienes adaptaron las obras originales como fuentes de sus narratividades a estas películas. Se propone que la trilogía flamenca se aleja del nacional-flamenquismo, el flamenco tratado durante la época franquista y el estereotipo creado por Mérimée, y que Gades y Saura buscan establecer la identidad flamenca en la cinematografía española.

La trilogía flamenca de Saura y Gades fue una serie de productos de la época de la Transición, la década después de la muerte de Franco en 1975. Joseba Gabilondo afirma que la Transición fue marcada por una cierta inestabilidad, pero también por una nueva libertad para realizar nuevas posibilidades culturales (71). Gabilondo también mantiene que porque esa transición se percibía como libertadora, algunos grupos marginados obtuvieron preeminencia cultural (71). En efecto, el flamenco ha sido un arte adaptado por los gitanos, quienes han sido marginados durante mucho tiempo. La representación del flamenco en el cine durante el período franquista popularmente se llama *la española*. Rob Stone define las españolas como: "politically charged, folkloric musical melodramas that advocated a Francoist doctrine of Spanishness and effectively disenfranchised traditional Gypsy performers from their own culture" (573). El término "el nacional-flamenquismo" se refiere al estilo del flamenco que emergió en las españolas y fue promocionado por el régimen de Franco.³ En este sentido, las obras de Saura y Gades intentan combatir la representación del flamenco creada por las españolas.

La película *Bodas de sangre*, la primera colaboración entre Carlos Saura y Antonio Gades, fue creada en 1981, seis años después de la muerte del dictador. La película se basa en la obra de Federico García Lorca de 1933. Se puede decir que Gades y Saura eligieron la obra de Lorca por su adherencia a lo andaluz. Allen Josephs y Juan Caballero escriben en la introducción de *Poema del Cante Jondo/Romancero Gitano* sobre la distinción entre la Andalucía de Lorca y "aquella otra pseudo-romántica Andalucía":

... [e]l problema de distinguir entre la Andalucía verdadera y la falsa de <<pandereta>>, de la <<española>>, de la época de Bizet, esa Andalucía zarzuela que ha ejercido influencia hasta dentro de Andalucía, y que, fuera de ella y fuera de España, ha creado un estereotipo lamentable (19).

Lorca busca la Andalucía verdadera, no la creada por la autoridad ni los extranjeros. Por las motivaciones que ambos directores tenían de recrear el flamenco verdadero en la cinematografía, Gades y Saura podrían identificarse con este interés de Lorca.

Así, la película *Bodas de sangre* se organiza en tres niveles de interpretación: la obra de Lorca, la obra coreográfica de Gades y el cine de Saura. Primero, la obra de Lorca, *Bodas de sangre*, trata de la tragedia rural—la vida frustrada por el amor traicionado, la pasión excesiva, el honor y la herencia bajo las tradiciones del pueblo andaluz en los años treinta. Lorca emplea un sistema de simbolismo establecido en la colección de poemas *Romancero gitano* (1928), con la cual Lorca creó la mitología gitana. Los símbolos que Lorca a menudo utiliza incluyen la muerte, el caballo, el jinete, el cuchillo, la luna y el color verde. Lorca crea un mundo imaginario mediante la combinación de "técnicas surrealistas con temas tradicionales" (Mújica 466). En la obra de Gades, por ejemplo, el simbolismo de la muerte en la obra de Lorca se interpreta mediante la danza de muerte de Leonardo (interpretado por Gades) y el novio (interpretado por Jiménez). La danza se lleva a cabo en un largo silencio a modo de cámara lenta, y las palmas marcan el momento real de la muerte. El caballo de

Lorca está representado por los movimientos de los pies de los jinetes/bailaores, es decir, el sentido de moverse a caballo es interpretado por los pasos de cepilladas, cepillando o barriendo las plantas de pies contra el suelo como si fueran galopes del caballo. También, en la obra de Gades, el mundo simbólico de Lorca está interpretado por la música diegética del flamenco. Por ejemplo, la letra del tango flamenco en la fiesta de boda refuerza el mundo de Lorca. Aunque el baile es ejecutado por el ballet flamenco, una gran parte de la película adopta la música flamenca o de guitarra flamenca.

El segundo nivel de interpretación es la obra coreográfica y de danza del Ballet Nacional de España dirigido por Antonio Gades. La obra de teatro se presenta como un ensayo final con los atuendos. La trama de la obra se lleva a cabo a través del baile y los gestos casi sin diálogos. Antes de empezar el ensayo, Gades se dirige a su compañía: “No voy a cortar, para nada, todo seguido, pase lo que pase.” Esto puede representar su determinación por no estancarse para obtener lo perfecto, por evolucionar y avanzar al siguiente nivel. Esta determinación puede significar su resolución y su deseo de un paso hacia el cambio, es decir, la democracia. Teniendo en cuenta la afiliación comunista de Gades y también el hecho de que el director Saura había dirigido otras películas contra el régimen durante la guerra civil, ese ensayo puede representar una aspiración hacia la libertad y la democratización. También, durante el ensayo de calentamiento (antes del ensayo final), Gades repite la frase “¡Aguanta riñones!” a su compañía. Su actitud hacia la obra de teatro del ballet flamenco representa su determinación convencida de mantener los esfuerzos y de continuar luchando. Quizás esa determinación a luchar pueda ser una metáfora de la lucha contra la época de la represión. Este hecho también puede representar su determinación artística de no regresar a la época del nacional-flamenquismo, que se aleja de la ortodoxia flamenca, y de establecer una nueva identidad flamenca en el cine español.

El tercer nivel de la película *Bodas de sangre* es el de la cinematografía de Carlos Saura. Saura trata el principio de la película como si fuera un documental. Este tratamiento sirve para reflejar una realidad de los artistas flamencos. Ellos entran al camerino, se maquillan y se preparan para el ensayo. Algunos ponen las fotos de los santos y la familia sobre el espejo, trayendo la vida personal a esta producción de obra teatral. En efecto, la religión católica y la familia son elementos íntegros del pueblo andaluz y de España. Esta parte de la película se puede considerar como casi documental porque la película mantiene el sentido de la realidad de los artistas. La puesta en escena es el camerino del teatro. Mientras los artistas se preparan, el guitarrista toca una taranta,⁴ creando el ambiente flamenco y ayudando a otros artistas a entrar en el mundo de la obra de teatro. Los protagonistas y artistas usan sus nombres verdaderos en esta película. Gades pone la fotografía de Lorca y la Barraca,⁵ su grupo de teatro universitario, y cuenta su biografía con la voz en off mientras se maquilla. Esta voz en off se puede considerar como dirigida a los espectadores o a Lorca, con quien Gades se identifica. En esta parte de la película, Saura muestra que los bailaores se transforman de seres humanos en el camerino a artistas en el estudio, y luego, en el ensayo con el vestuario, en los personajes de la obra de Lorca. Al final del ensayo y de la película, Cristina Hoyos se transforma completamente en la novia. Se eliminan los elementos del documental y ensayo; la puesta en escena se constituye sólo de la novia y del espejo. Sólo se ve a la novia con la sangre en sus manos y en su vestido frente al espejo, y así el mundo realista cambia al mundo simbólico. De esta manera, la película termina integrándose al nivel simbólico de Lorca. Al final, en la película *Bodas de sangre*, el cine de Saura, el teatro de baile de Gades y la obra de Lorca se fusionan y se completan, para instituir una nueva identidad flamenca. La visión del mundo flamenco creado por Lorca, Gades y Saura nos da una nueva perspectiva sobre el flamenco.

Como *Bodas de sangre*, la película *Carmen*(1983), que se basa en la novela de Prosper Mérimée y la ópera de Georges Bizet, consiste en varios niveles de representación: la visión del mundo creado por Mérimée y Bizet, el teatro de baile interpretado por Gades y su compañía, y el mundo realista de los artistas flamencos redactado y dirigido por Saura. Aunque se notan aspectos documentales, los elementos del documental no destacan en la película *Carmen*. En cambio, la vida de Antonio y Carmen, como bailaores en la película, se cruza con los personajes de José y Carmen de la ficción de Mérimée, haciendo que los espectadores vacilen entre la ficción y la realidad.

Primero, la figura de Carmen, un arquetipo español hoy en día, es una creación de Mérimée, el escritor francés, en 1845 y recreada por Bizet, el compositor francés, en 1875. La creación de una figura en una obra es un producto cultural del momento histórico y así refleja la tendencia literaria de la época. Esta figura arquetípica fue creada cuando el romanticismo todavía predominaba. Entre las características del romanticismo se incluyen la libertad, el sentimiento, la emoción, la subjetividad o “el culto al yo” y el individualismo.⁶ En este sentido, la figura de Carmen encarna el concepto de lo español que los franceses románticos tenían. En su personalidad, se

ven no sólo el predominio del sentimiento y la emoción en cuanto a su amor con Don José y el “toreador,” sino también la exaltación del “yo” en la escena de “la Tabacalera”, donde pelea con Micaela en la fábrica de tabaco. En realidad, esta escena fue omitida por Bizet,⁷ pero Saura recupera esta escena de Mérimée con puro flamenco, sin la música de ópera. Saura y Gades deciden reconstruir la obra *Carmen* basándola en un flamenco auténtico en vez de la pura ópera surgida de las visiones románticas estereotipadas de Mérimée. La música para interpretar el conflicto, la envidia y la rivalidad de dos grupos de mujeres, dirigidos por Carmen y Micaela, se lleva a cabo por sólo manos, cantes y zapateados. Mientras tanto, Carmen es un personaje inventado según las expectativas exóticas de Mérimée. Jesús Torrecilla afirma este hecho en su artículo “La modernización de la imagen exótica de España en Carmen, de Saura”:

Carmen no es una mujer española, sino un personaje de ficción concebido por la imaginación de un escritor extranjero que... trazó un carácter salvaje y primitivo que respondía enteramente a las expectativas francesas de la época y se integraba en un sistema de valores francés o, si se prefiere, “europeo” (338).

La interpretación real de la obra de *Carmen* por Antonio y su compañía forma el segundo nivel de representación de la película *Carmen*. Antonio busca, para el personaje de Carmen en su obra, a una bailaora que personifique la imagen gitana creada por Mérimée: “Sus cabellos eran negros, largos, brillantes... Sus ojos tenían una expresión voluptuosa y hosca al mismo tiempo: ojos de gitano, ojos de lobo, dice un refrán español” (Underwood 38). Antonio se encuentra con Carmen (interpretada por Laura del Sol), quien también trabaja en un tablao donde los extranjeros esperan ver el baile exótico de España. Ángel Custodio Gómez González continua: “el Nacional-flamenquismo en su tratamiento del estereotipo flamenco era clara y deliberadamente uniforme y homogeneizador, tanto en el cine de la época como en las representaciones de los tablaos” (97). La adaptación y la representación del estereotipo flamenco fueron usadas no sólo para la propagación turística, sino también como un refuerzo de la identidad nacional española. Como A. Joseph y J. Caballero exponen una distinción entre la Andalucía de Lorca y “aquella otra pseudo-romántica Andalucía,” existía un cisma entre la Andalucía verdadera y la Andalucía idealizada por el Otro.⁸ Por lo tanto, bajo la dominación del nacional-flamenquismo o la españolada, el flamenco verdadero, el arte nacido en Andalucía, no apareció en la esfera pública durante el período franquista, ni en la cinematografía ni en los tablaos. El tablao en la película *Carmen*, que fue filmado en 1983, es una sátira de la continuación de la estrategia turística del régimen de Franco (que todavía continúa hoy en día). La mirada de contemplación de los turistas extranjeros en el tablao de la película *Carmen* es análoga a la mirada de contemplación de los románticos franceses hacia la mujer española del siglo XIX. Así, la Carmen del tablao es un objeto de contemplación y funciona como la imagen del objeto romantizado por Mérimée.

Esta fusión de la bailaora Carmen de Saura y la Carmen de Mérimée sucede en la mente de Antonio, quien desempeña el papel de Don José. Aquí, el director Saura, hace cruzar dos historias paralelas. En la película, después del ensayo de la escena en que Don José se rinde a la seducción de la Carmen de Mérimée, la Carmen de la película de Saura toma la iniciativa de tener una relación amorosa con Antonio. Después del amorío, Antonio, abandonado y confuso, entra a su estudio y se enfrenta al espejo. Aquí, por primera vez esta Carmen de Saura aparece en la mente de Antonio como una encarnación de la visión romántica del estereotipo flamenco. En su fantasía, Carmen se manifiesta coqueta como el estereotipo de los románticos franceses con el abanico, la flor, la peineta y la mantilla de encaje. Esta aparición juega un papel de punto nodal⁹ en la película donde numerosos componentes convergen para crear significados.

Desde este punto, la vida de los artistas se entreteje con la obra de teatro. Los espectadores acaban por vacilar entre la “realidad” y la “ficción.” Esta confusión ocurre porque, en particular, la obra de teatro de Carmen sólo se ve en los segmentos de ensayos en el estudio. Entre estos ensayos, como el tercer nivel de representación, Saura introduce la vida de los artistas. Antes del punto nodal, Saura trata la vida de los artistas de una manera casi documental. En la película se usan los nombres verdaderos de los artistas, salvo Laura del Sol, quien lleva el nombre de Carmen; por ejemplo, Antonio Gades lleva el nombre de Antonio, Cristina Hoyos de Cristina, y Paco de Lucía de Paco. En esta parte de la película, se ve el proceso de la creación de la obra. Cuando Antonio escucha la música de Bizet, el guitarrista Paco le sugiere a Antonio hacer la pieza a ritmo de bulería.¹⁰ Esta adaptación de la bulería manifiesta el deseo de los artistas flamencos de transformar la obra francesa en algo más real, andaluz y flamenco. También, la escena de la celebración de cumpleaños representa la vida “real” de los flamencos y su arte auténtico. Luego, la música de Bizet sobrepone la música de puro flamenco y toma poder. Carmen aparece con el vestido estereotípico de flamenco y con el maquillaje exagerado.

Carmen y Cristina bailan de una manera también exagerada con muchas contorsiones, que recuerdan la danza de zarzuela.¹¹ Después, los miembros de la compañía se disfrazan, uno como torero y otro como toro, y hacen una versión paródica de la escena del Toreador de la ópera. Esta escena de parodia de “Carmencita” y “Toreador” representa un rechazo del nacional-flamenquismo del régimen de Franco y del estereotipo español creado por Mérimée. En efecto, según características del postmodernismo, la parodia, la mímica y la ironía son estrategias que nos permiten cuestionar los discursos oficiales.¹² La parodia en la escena de este cumpleaños desafía el pasado de la española y sirven para lograr lo que González llama “la reconstrucción de la identidad del flamenco”.¹³

Después del punto nodal, la vida “real” de los protagonistas se hace ambigua en relación a la historia de Mérimée. Igual que en la novela, la inversión de las posiciones de Antonio y Carmen ocurre. Al principio Antonio representa el poder y el control sobre el arte, el sexo, y la política: quiere dominar la producción de *Carmen* como director y coreógrafo, y quiere dominar a Carmen como novio. Con estos aspectos, Antonio podría interpretarse como un representante del dictador quien trata de dominar la sociedad. Mientras se desarrolla la trama, los papeles de Antonio y Carmen se invierten. Carmen seduce a Antonio, invirtiendo su papel con el de Antonio en el ensayo anterior y provocándole “cómeme ahora...”. Ella lo dice, parodiando a Antonio. Aun después de la relación, Carmen se comporta a su aire. Antonio averigua que ella va a tener una aventura con otro bailar. Se da por vencido con respecto a ella, reconociendo que no tiene derecho de refrenarla. Carmen aquí hace uso de su libre albedrío y se rebela contra las convenciones y valores tradicionales de la sociedad donde el machismo predomina. Al contrario, Antonio muestra aspectos femeninos, pidiéndole la estabilidad y la fidelidad. Esta transformación de Antonio y Carmen puede reflejar el momento socio-político de la película. Doborah J. Hill aclara en su artículo “From Dictatorship to Democracy: Carlos Saura’s *Carmen*”:

His *Carmen* is set in a Spain modernized by democracy. It is a Spain which has grown comfortable with its new freedom, artistically, politically, and morally... it reveals a society which has successfully made the transition from Dictatorship to Democracy” (102).

La inversión y la transformación de papel de Antonio y Carmen pueden representar una nueva disposición y actitud de la mujer durante la transición desde la dictadura a la democracia. Carmen en la película no es sumisa, sino independiente y más liberal sexualmente. Quizás la Carmen moderna de Saura es análoga a la Carmen de Mérimée, aunque la Carmen de Saura sea sin duda mucho más libre que las mujeres de la época de Mérimée y del período franquista. En el juego de realidad y ficción se crea una nueva Carmen.

Mientras en la película *Carmen*, Saura y Gades manipulan y juegan entre la realidad y la ficción a través del teatro de baile interpretado por los artistas y del mundo de Mérimée y Bizet, en su tercera película, *El amor brujo* (1986), experimentan otro proceso en el tratamiento de la puesta de escena y de la realidad y la ficción. *El amor brujo* se basa en la música de Manuel de Falla (1876–1946). El famoso compositor Falla, quien nació y creció en Cádiz, escuchando la nana de las criadas, expresó su afecto hacia el arte folklórico, en particular, el flamenco (Hamada 351). De hecho, Falla colaboró y organizó con Lorca el primer concurso de canto jondo¹⁴ de 1922 para reivindicar los valores estéticos del canto jondo y salvarlo de la comercialización. *El amor brujo* (1915), la música del ballet de Falla, consiste en cuatro cuadros de un acto, basados en un texto de María Lejárraga de Martínez Sierra.¹⁵ González explica que Falla compuso el ballet para la bailaora flamenca Pastora Imperio quien estrenó en el Teatro Lara de Madrid en el mismo año.¹⁶

La película *El amor brujo* marca un paso diferente de las películas anteriores de Saura y Gades, cambiando las divisiones de interpretaciones. Los protagonistas, los artistas flamencos, no ensayan para una obra en el estudio. En la película *El amor brujo*, la metatextualidad disminuye; no hay un juego obvio entre la realidad y la ficción. Desde el principio, los artistas se ven como personajes de la obra.

Sin embargo, el principio de la película indica que la puesta en escena es establecida dentro de un estudio del cine. El plano empieza con la puerta enorme de acero bajando dramáticamente con la música de Falla. Luego, continúa con una toma panorámica; la cámara lentamente sigue el decorado artificial del telón de fondo y la iluminación artificial del techo y se acerca al campamento de los gitanos en el estudio de cine, lo cual alude a lo irreal, sin embargo, el significado de cerrar la puerta establece la separación del mundo interior del mundo de afuera del estudio, creando un mundo “real” de la historia. El mundo realista de la ficción es conseguido por el decorado—un paisaje donde supuestamente viven los gitanos. González afirma que “la película crea un curioso efecto de realismo dentro de los confines del propio espacio artificial” (190).

En esta película, no hay elementos documentales. En cambio, Saura incorpora elementos costumbristas en la película. Saura trata las costumbres de los gitanos, marginados de la sociedad española: la ceremonia del matrimonio arreglado por los padres desde que los niños eran pequeños; la costumbre de la “chabola,” que se demuestra con un pañuelo manchado de sangre mostrando la honra de la novia, y la gente celebrando a la novia desflorada. Los individuos son obedientes a la demanda de la comunidad, y la celebración de la boda reconoce la identidad de los gitanos (Stone 580). González también subraya el aspecto del costumbrismo:

...hay que hacer constar el enorme costumbrismo de las escenas y música flamencas aquí mostradas, sobre todo en la escena de la boda, que ayudan a recrear de un modo muy factible el realismo de la representación y a señalar el valor de la tradición de la comunidad y la necesidad de perpetuarla en el tiempo (194).

En la película *El amor brujo*, se fusionan el costumbrismo, la ficción y la realidad. Por ejemplo, todo lo que vemos en la película es ficticio, como lo muestra el decorado exterior en el enorme estudio. Sin embargo, otra escena costumbrista en la cual la comunidad gitana canta los villancicos flamencos puede ser una realidad. El tratamiento de costumbrismo por parte de los cineastas representaría su deseo por presentar el flamenco verdadero, auténtico y andaluz.

Esta película de Saura y Gades también refleja el momento histórico-social en el que la película fue realizada (1986). Al principio de la película, Saura congela la imagen del niño Carmelo quien observa la escena donde José y Candela (a quien quiere) están prometidos y luego emplea la disolución lenta de la cara de Carmelo: la de niño se disuelve en la de adulto de Gades. Rob Stone explica esta disolución en su artículo “Breaking the Spell”: “... the transition in the faces is effectively a political transition: the child of Francoist Spain becomes the adult of the ‘80s.” (577) El esfumado de la cara de la niñez de Carmelo a la de madurez representa el proceso de la transformación del régimen de Franco a la sociedad libre en los años ochenta.

También, la escena en la cual Carmelo injustamente está detenido por la matanza de José, el marido de Candela, y el retorno de Carmelo de la cárcel pueden reflejar el momento histórico-social. El injusto arresto de Carmelo en la película puede representar el problema de clases sociales en España. Es decir, tras esta escena se ven divisiones entre la cultura española predominante y la identidad gitana o la cultura gitana marginada. El encarcelamiento puede interpretarse como un símbolo de la represión de la época franquista. También, el encarcelamiento de Carmelo durante cuatro años va en paralelo a la sociedad sometida por el dictador por casi cuatro décadas. El regreso de Carmelo de la cárcel puede simbolizar el retorno de la libertad para los españoles.

La danza ritual del fuego con la música de Falla ayuda a Candela a alejarse del fantasma de su marido. Candela y los gitanos de la comunidad bailan de una manera muy flamenca alrededor de una hoguera. La danza tiene el propósito de hacer renacer a Candela, apartando el espectro del marido. De una manera semejante, este renacimiento puede representar la transición de España de la época, despidiéndose de la época franquista para una nueva era libre.

En resumen, se puede afirmar claramente que con su trilogía, Gades y Saura nos invitan a un nuevo establecimiento de la identidad flamenca. En la película *Bodas de sangre*, mientras muestran una realidad de los artistas flamencos mediante un modo documental, Gades y Saura interpretan la tragedia del pueblo andaluz de Lorca con una determinación para un cambio hacia la libertad artística y socio-política. En la película *Carmen*, Gades y Saura satirizan el nacional-flamenquismo y el estereotipo del flamenco de los extranjeros. Esta lucha contra el nacional-flamenquismo y el estereotipo se presenta como yuxtaposiciones alternativas de la realidad y la ficción del mundo flamenco. En *El amor brujo*, Gades y Saura privilegian el flamenco verdadero dentro de la ficción. Mientras, los dos cineastas acentúan los elementos del flamenco puro, ellos exponen también una clara separación con el pasado. Por lo tanto, la trilogía flamenca se desmarca de la corriente del nacional-flamenquismo y del estereotipo flamenco creado por Mérimée, para un nuevo establecimiento de la identidad flamenca. Así, a través de las tres películas con sus propias narratividades, Gades y Saura instauran una nueva identidad flamenca en el cine español.

NOTAS

1. Robert Scholes define la narratividad como un proceso en el cual un receptor activamente construye una historia desde datos ficticios proporcionados por cualquier medio narrativo (393). La narrativa se define como una forma en la cual una narración se transforma en una forma coherente y separada de la vida cotidiana (393).
2. Una construcción imaginaria en cuanto al espacio y el tiempo ficcional en el que opera la película. Hoja de clase. "Diccionario de concepto crítico para el estudio del cine." Español 495D Doctor Eric Thau, Otoño 2004. Universidad de Hawaii.
3. R. Stone. "...the inherited values of the jingoistic reinscription of the form termed *nacionalflamenquismo* that emerged in the *españoladas*" (cursivas en el original 573).
4. Cante de minera en compás libre (R. Totton 136).
5. El teatro universitario donde Lorca empezó a dirigir en 1932 recibiendo unas subvenciones de la República. El grupo viajó por pueblos para enseñar las obras de teatro de Siglo de Oro.
6. Hoja de clase "El Romanticismo Español." Español 495C, Doctor Austin Dias, Primavera 2004. Universidad de Hawaii.
7. Gwynne Edwards afirma que Saura toma Mérimée como un punto de partida (101).
8. F. Aparicio y S. Chávez-Silverman definen tropicalizaciones hegemónicas como: "Western representation of the exotic, primitive Other" (8).
9. Sigmund Freud usa el término "puntos nodales" al examinar algunos pensamientos de sueño en "The Interpretation of Dream." "They constituted 'nodal points' upon which a great number of dream-thoughts converged, and because they had several meanings in a connection with the interpretation of the dream..." (135).
10. Cante y baile gitano y popular.
11. Comedia musical española, alternando música y diálogo (Chang-Rodríguez 368).
12. Apuntes de clase. Hispanic Cultural Studies 683, Doctora Joy Logan, Otoño 2004. Universidad de Hawaii.
13. El título de su libro es *La reconstrucción de la identidad del flamenco en el cine de Carlos Saura*.
14. Primitivo cante andaluz.
15. <<http://www.geocities.com/ubeda2002/falla/amorbrujo.htm>>. El texto es colaborado con su esposo Gregorio Martínez Sierra, dramaturgo y poeta español.
16. González también explica que el ballet de Falla se llevó al cine por varias ocasiones incluyendo *El amor brujo* (1967) de Francisco Rovira Beleta, con el mismo Antonio Gades y la Polaca (186).

OBRAS CITADAS

- Aparicio, Frances R., y Susana Chávez-Silverman. *Tropicalizations: Transcultural Representations of Latinidad*. Hanover: University Press of New England, 1997.
- Bizet, Georges. *Carmen*. Hamburg: Deutsche Grammophon, 1983.
- Chang-Rodríguez, Eugenio. *Latinoamérica: su civilización y su cultura*. 3ª ed. Boston: Heinle & Heinle, 1999.
- Edwards, Gwynne. *Indecent Exposures: Buñuel, Saura, Erice & Almodóvar*. New York: Marion Boyars, 1995.
- Freud, Sigmund. "The Interpretation of Dreams." *Literary Theory: An Anthology*. Ed. Julie Rivkin y Michael Ryan. Malden: Blackwell Publishers, 1998. 128–150.
- Gabilondo, Joseba. "Our Man in Hollywood." Folleto de curso. Hispanic Cultural Studies 683, Doctora Joy Logan, Otoño 2004. Universidad de Hawaii.
- García Lorca, Federico. *Poema del cante jondo/Romancero gitano*. Ed. Allen Josephs y Juan Caballero. Madrid: Cátedra, 1977.
- García Lorca, Federico. *Bodas de sangre*. Ed. Herbert Ramsden. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980.
- González, Ángel Custodio Gómez. *La reconstrucción de la identidad del flamenco en el cine de Carlos Saura*. Sevilla: Junta de Andalucía, 2002.
- Hamada, Jiro. *Flamenco no rekishi* (History of Flamenco). Tokyo: Shobun-sha, 2000.
- Hill, Deborah J. "From Dictatorship to Democracy: Carlos Saura's *Carmen*." *The Kingdom of Dreams in Literature and Film*. Ed. Douglas Fowler. Tallahassee: Florida State University Press, 1986. 92–103.
- Lejárraga de Martínez Sierra, María. *El amor brujo*. Escaneado por Luis Etcheverry 2002. Geocities. 30 de octubre de 2004 <<http://www.geocities.com/ubeda2002/falla/amorbrujo.htm>>.
- Mérimée, Prosper. *Carmen*. New York: The Limited Edition Club, 1941.
- Mujica, Bárbara. *Texto y vida: introducción a la literatura española*. Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace College

- Publishers, 1999.
- Saura, Carlos. *Bodas de sangre*. Emiliano Piedra Productions, 1981.
- Saura, Carlos. *Carmen*. Emiliano Piedra Productions, 1983.
- Saura Carlos. *El amor brujo*. Emiliano Piedra Productions, 1986.
- Scholes, Robert. "Narration and Narrativity in Film." Hoja de clase. Español 495D, Doctor Eric Thau, Onoño 2004. Universidad de Hawaii.
- Stone, Rob. "Breaking the Spell: Carlos Saura's *El amor brujo* and *el desencanto*." *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* LXXX (2003): 573–592.
- Torrecilla, Jesús. "La modernización de la imagen exótica de España en *Carmen*, de Saura." *Anales de la literatura española contemporanea* 26 (2001): 337–356.
- Totton, Robin. *Song of the Outcasts*. Portland: Amadeus Press, 2003.
- Underwood, John H. *Hablando de cine*. Boston: McGraw Hioo, 2003.

IV. Syntax

PASSIVE SYSTEM IN CHINESE DIALECTS—XIANG, MIN, AND YUE

Jia-Yin Chen, Department of Linguistics

ABSTRACT

This paper investigates the uniqueness of the passive construction in Chinese by comparing the three Chinese “dialects”: Xiang, Min, and Yue. They are common in taking indirect passives as a strategy to strengthen the adversely affected experiencer and in showing a pragmatic ambiguity by employing the same marker for both passive constructions and causative constructions. They only vary in terms of the presence of an agent and the restriction in the positive application. The sources of these variations include both synchronic and diachronic factors, and the possible reasons for such variations are also explored.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

The passive construction has become one of the most frequently discussed syntactic aspects of Chinese since Chao (1968) pointed out that the passive voice is a lately developed sentence pattern in Mandarin. Furthermore, Chao attributes this new phenomenon to the influences of Indo-European languages because “Chinese verbs have no voice” (1968, p. 703). It is believed that in Archaic Chinese, the *bei* construction was used in expressing adversative messages; however, it has become widely used as a passive pattern and expanded its semantic domain to include favorable or neutral meanings (Chao, 1968; Li & Thompson, 1981).

The issue of passives in Mandarin has been raised and discussed, but what about other languages in China? Although many so-called Chinese “dialects” are not mutually intelligible, most are believed to display both direct and indirect passives, and they share many similarities, both syntactically and semantically. In this paper, we will look into the passive constructions of three Chinese dialects: Xiang, Min, and Yue.¹ In addition to comparing their syntactic features, we will also examine the pragmatic effects and possible causes for the variations found in the passive forms of these three Chinese dialects.

2.0. SYNTACTIC FEATURES

2.1. Basic Passives

Basic passives are only formed from an active sentence. Applying passivization to simple transitive verbs creates a structure in which “the theme argument is realized as a subject and the agent argument is downgraded to an oblique or is suppressed” (O’Grady, 2004, p. 110). The three Chinese dialects, Xiang, Min, and Yue, are no exceptions in forming a passive construction, as they restructure the thematic roles and grammatical relations as many languages do. They require four elements in the sentence: a theme, a passive marker, an agent, and a verb, in the stated order. Consider the following sentences:

(1) Xiang

- a. tɕi tɕa-ku go mɛ̃ pe ɕy li
he drink-Asp I that Cl water Prt
‘He drank my water.’
- b. go mɛ̃ pe ɕy tɕ tɕi tɕa-ku li
I that Cl water Pass he drink-Asp Prt
‘My water was drunk by him.’

(Ding, 2003)

(2) Min²

- a. yi jia beng a
he eat rice Prt
‘He ate the rice.’
- b. beng ho yi jia a
rice Pass he eat Prt
‘The rice was eaten by him.’

- (3) Yue
- a. k^høŋ mai-tso ka ts^hɛ
 he sell-Asp Cl car
 'He sold the car.'
- b. ka ts^hɛ pei k^høŋ mai-tso
 Cl car Pass he sell-Asp
 'The car was sold by him.' (Tsz Him Tsui, personal communication, November 18, 2004)³

As shown in the above examples, sentences with an active voice (1a, 2a, and 3a) have an NP1-VP-NP2 pattern, whereas in the passive structures (1b, 2b, and 3b), NP2 gets promoted to the subject position in the order of NP2-Pass-NP1-VP. The theme is promoted as a subject and the agent is downgraded as an oblique in a passive construction.

In addition to restructuring the mapping relations, Xiang, Min, and Yue take the periphrastic strategy, employing an overt passive marker to make the passive more explicit. The passive markers in the Chinese dialects generally bear the meanings of "giving" or "suffering". They were originally real verbs in archaic Chinese, but recent scholars have redefined them as prepositions since their verbal functions are weakened through language change (Hashimoto, 1988; Li, 2003).

2.2. Agent Omissions

Behaving differently, Xiang, Min, and Yue generally required an agent following the passive marker, but variations also exist, depending upon the areas where the dialect is spoken. Among these three dialects, both Xiang and Yue display more variation than Min, as Xiang is further divided into old and new,⁴ and Yue has two passive markers, *bei* and *beih*, that behave differently. Consider the following sentences:

- (4) a. An obligatory agent in old Xiang
 n tʂ *(mieka) se-ku
 you Pass (others) criticize-Asp
 'You were criticized (by others).' (Ding, 2003)
- b. Agent omission in new Xiang
 n tʂ se-ku
 you Pass criticize-Asp
 'You were criticized.' (Yang Xiao, personal communication, November 19, 2004)
- (5) An obligatory agent in Yue with the passive marker *bei*
 Leih bei *(yahn) ngaak-jo la.
 You Pass (people) cheat-Asp Prt
 'You've been cheated (by people).' (Matthews & Yip, 1994, p. 150)
- (6) An optional agent in Yue with the passive marker *beih*
 Keuih ge tinchoih yatjihk beih (yahn) maaishmuht-jo
 her LP talent until-now Pass (people) bury-Asp
 'Her talent has always been buried (by people).' (Matthews & Yip, 1994, p. 150)
- (7) An optional agent in Min
 che ho (tsala) taoqi
 books Pass (thief) steal away
 'Books were stolen (by thieves).'

As illustrated in examples (4a) and (4b), the old Xiang dialect requires the appearance of an oblique agent; however, for some new Xiang speakers, omission of the agent is acceptable although preserving it after the passive marker would still be considered the most natural speech.³ The passive marker *beih* used in a formal speech style allows the omission of an oblique agent as shown in example (6), whereas in example (5), the passive marker *bei* used in an oral form does not permit omission (Matthews & Yip, 1994). In contrast to Xiang

and Yue, as shown in example (7), the Min dialect is more consistent in its speech. Most Min dialect speakers in Taiwan keep the agent in a passive sentence. Nevertheless, individual differences such as example (7) can occur in some cases.

2.3. Indirect Passives

Indirect passives can be formed with transitive verbs and some intransitive verbs, unlike basic passives, which are restricted to transitive verbs in applying passivization. In addition to a theme and an agent, an indirect passive construction includes the thematic role of experiencer. This construction is also known as the adversative passive because the experiencer is negatively affected by the core event.

In an indirect passive, the subject does not correspond to the direct object of an active sentence: it has an experiencer role instead of a theme role. As a result of the passivization, the theme NP remains in the original position as a direct object. Consider the following indirect passives formed with transitive verbs:

- (8) Old Xiang
 tz jao kə t^hɛjɛ tə^h-kə kə tat^hɛɜ
 he Pass Cl thief steal-Asp Cl bicycle
 'He had his bicycle stolen by a thief.'
 (Bin-Feng Wu, personal communication, November 28, 2004)⁵
- (9) Yue
 amin pei jen ɲak-tso hou to ts^hin
 A-Ming Pass people swindle-Asp a lot money
 'A-Ming was swindled a big fortune by someone.'
 (Tsz Him Tsui, personal communication, November 18, 2004)

In the above indirect passive structures shown in old Xiang and Yue, the experiencer adversely affected by the action is the subject of the sentence and not the object of the verb. Interestingly, indirect passives do not have a corresponding active sentence as basic passives do. Compare the following sentences in Min dialect:

- (10) Min
- Indirect passive
 gwa ho yi taoqi ji e wan
 I Pass he steal a Cl bowl
 'I had a bowl stolen by him.'
 - Active
 yi taoqi gwa ji e wan
 He steal I a Cl bowl
 'He stole a bowl of mine.'
 - Basic passive
 gwa ji e wan ho yi taoqi
 I a Cl bowl Pass he steal
 'A bowl of mine was stolen by him.'

In sentence (10a), most native Min speakers would assume a possessive relationship, which may or may not be true, between the experiencer *gwa* 'I' and the theme *wan* 'bowl'. Thus, an immediate interpretation of a matching active sentence may be shown as (10b). However, (10b) is not a correct active thematic paraphrase of (10a), because (10a) does not show a clear possessive relationship between the theme and the experiencer. For example, the bowl might be stolen during the period, while the experiencer is house-sitting for a friend. Thus, although the experiencer is adversely affected, the bowl actually belongs to the friend. In contrast, the active form in (10b) corresponds to the basic passive pattern in (10c) because in both sentences, the theme conveys the obvious information of the possessive relationship.

Indirect passives can also take intransitive verbs with the usual condition of a following resultative or degree complement. As illustrated in sentence (11) below, a resultative complement clause 'not being able to

sleep the whole night' follows the indirect passive structure formed with an intransitive verb *k^hu* 'cry.' Similarly, intransitive verbs such as *chow* 'laugh' in the Min example (12) also require degree complements such as 'very embarrassed,' and the Yue dialect has a degree phrase *mou sei panfat* 'no solution' to complete the indirect passive patterns in example (13).

- (11) Xiang
 mama jao gə einteik k^hu-ta ji ja ta k^hondjə?
 Mother Pass Cl baby cry-until one night not sleep
 'Mother had the baby cried on her to the point of not being able to sleep all night.'
 (Bin-Feng Wu, personal communication, November 28, 2004)
- (12) Min
 hit me de chantia, gwa ho yi chow-ga wugao paise
 that night at restaurant I Pass he laugh-until very embarrass
 'That night at restaurant, I had him laughed on me to the degree of great embarrassment.'
- (13) Yue
 mama pei kə siupanjeu ham-tou mou sei panfat
 mother Pass Cl kid cry-until not any solution
 'Mother had the baby cried on her to the point of no solution.'
 (Tsz Him Tsui, personal communication, November 18, 2004)

The application of the indirect passives formed from an intransitive verb is relatively limited. It appears more naturally in a context that provides some information to make the meaning of the sentence more explicit. An attached resultative clause or a degree phrase serves the function of providing additional background information to clarify the meaning of the indirect passives. This pragmatic function may be the possible reason for requiring the attachment of additional structure.

3.0. PRAGMATIC EFFECTS

As will be discussed below, the passive patterns in the three Chinese dialects may carry the following two pragmatic features: (1) the meaning of the passive patterns may be ambiguous; and (2) the passive patterns generally have a tendency for carrying negative or adversative messages.

3.1. Ambiguity in Causative and Passive Interpretations

The three dialects show a surprising similarity in the ambiguous pragmatic effect that Mandarin may not have. Each dialect chooses a similar marker to form both passive and causative constructions. With its origin as a transitive verb, the marker may be ambiguous since it can either be interpreted as a passive marker or as a verb to derive a causative meaning. An identical sentence can create two different readings. Only context may disambiguate its usage. Consider the following sentences:

- (11') Xiang
 mama jao gə einteik k^hu-ta ji ja ta k^hondjə?
 Mother Pass Cl baby cry-until one night not sleep
 a. 'Mother made the baby cry to the point of not being able to sleep all night.'
 b. 'Mother had the baby cried on her to the point of not being able to sleep all night.'
 (Bin-Feng Wu, personal communication, November 28, 2004)
- (14) Min
 goa ho yi tio-tio te-it tsiong a
 I Pass him get-get first prize Prt
 a. 'I (adversely) experienced his winning the first prize.'
 b. 'I made him win the first prize.'
 c. 'I let him win the first prize.'
 (Huang, 1999, p. 460)

- (15) Yue
 Ngoh bei keoi siu
 I Pass him laugh
 a. 'I let him laugh.'
 b. 'I was laughed by him.' (Tsz Him Tsui, personal communication, November 18, 2004)

As shown in the above examples, double readings are possible for the same sentence patterns. The difference lies in the thematic roles that the subject bears. The subjects in the three dialects take a theme role in the passive pattern, whereas they change to an agent role in the causative patterns. Therefore, in the causative interpretations, the subjects take an active voice, and the verb events are under their control. In addition to the ambiguity between the passive and the causative interpretation, Huang (1999) also noticed that the Min dialect in Taiwan distinguishes the subtle differences between strong causatives and weak causatives. As illustrated in example (14), both readings of 'make' and 'let' for the causative marker are acceptable. A three-way ambiguity is displayed in the Min dialect.

3.2. Adversative Effect

The adversative effect displayed in Chinese passive constructions is a unique characteristic among languages in the world. In the previous discussion, it was noted that indirect passives are also known as adversative passives because they contain an adversely affected experiencer. Nevertheless, this phenomenon may also be shared among basic passives in the three dialects. On the one hand, passive constructions in Xiang are particularly restricted to a negative context. On the other hand, although Min and Yue also demonstrate a tendency in using passives to express adversative messages, they still allow basic passives to appear in a positive context. Consider the following sentences:

- (16) Xiang
 tsi ts^hɔ t^hje j^h laosi ts^han tsak
 he yesterday Pass teacher praise
 'He was praised by a teacher yesterday.'
 (Bin-feng Wu, personal communication, November 28, 2004)
- (17) Min
 yi zang ho laosu gole
 he yesterday Pass teacher encourage
 'He was encouraged by a teacher yesterday.'
- (18) Xiang
 Keuih hou jungyi bei yahn jaan.
 He very like Pass people praise
 'He likes very much to be praised by people.' (Matthews & Yip, 1994, p. 150)

As illustrated in the above examples, Xiang is the only dialect that extremely restricts the passive patterns to a negative context. Matthew and Yip also observe that generally passive sentences with positive meanings cannot be rendered in Cantonese; however, sometimes exceptions are found in sentences that do not involve the element of adversity (1994, p. 150). To explain the variations, Li (2003) points out that the etymology of the passive markers play a role in determining their pragmatic effects. A neutral passive marker can either be used in a positive or a negative context, but an etymologically negative passive marker limits its semantic domains to the adversative usages. A comparison is provided in Table 1.

Table 1. *Etymology vs. Pragmatic Effects*

	Xiang	Min	Yue
Etymology of the passive marker	Negative (suffering)	Neutral (giving)	Neutral (giving)
Being used in a positive context	No	Yes	Yes

The use of a positive passive marker 'giving' in Min and Yue permits a positive meaning in sentences like examples (17) and (18); however, a positive meaning cannot be rendered in the Xiang dialect due to its negative

passive marker *ja* 'suffering.' Example (16) in Xiang is only possible when being negatively interpreted as 'He has adversely experienced being praised by a teacher yesterday. Passive sentences in Xiang do not usually bring out a positive interpretation.

4.0. A POSSIBLE CAUSE OF THE VARIATION

The three Chinese dialects display great similarities, both syntactically and semantically, in the passive construction; nevertheless, variations are still found especially in the suppression of the oblique agent. The variations found are summarized in the table below.

Table 2. *Grammaticalization vs. Agent Suppression*

	Mandarin	Xiang	Min	Yue
Grammaticalization of passive marker	V>Adv>Prep (beih)	V> Prep	V> Prep	V>Prep
Agent expected	optional	yes	yes	yes
Appearance of an oblique agent	optional	new: optional old: required	generally required	oral: required formal: optional

Historical linguists (Hashimoto, 1988; Li, 1994) suggest that prepositions in Chinese are developed either with or without a transitional stage as an adverb. Li further points out that many southern or central dialects, including Xiang, Min, and Yue, took the pathway in which prepositions are directly developed from a verb;⁶ therefore, an NP following a preposition is necessary. Since the passive markers in the three dialects were never an adverb in the course of their grammaticalization, an agent would naturally be introduced by a passive marker-preposition in these three dialects. However, as we recall, in the discussion of section 2.2 regarding an oblique agent or in the comparison of the above table, we find unexpected variations such as: (1) the new Xiang dialect may treat the agent as optional; (2) one passive marker may allow omission of its agent in the Yue dialect, and (3) the Min dialect may also have exceptions.

The fact that languages change through contact needs to be reconsidered in order to explain potential causes for these unexpected variations. Some linguists (e.g., Chao, 1968; Chappell, 1986) have agreed that the adversative meaning of the passive construction in Mandarin was weakened under the influence of Indo-European languages. Mandarin as a dominant and official language in areas where these dialects are spoken may also play a role in facilitating the development of the variations found above. In fact, this is very likely in the case of the Yue dialect spoken in Hong Kong.

It is assumed that *bei* in the high rising tone is the native form, while *beih* in the low level tone is borrowed from Mandarin (Tang, 2001). Unlike most Chinese dialects that do not have an adequate writing system, the Yue dialect has developed its own writing system by using special Chinese characters in addition to inventing its own characters. The Mandarin passive marker is borrowed, and therefore, it only appears in formal writing, whereas the native form is used in oral conversation. Cantonese *beih* and Mandarin *bei* are considered cognates. Tang further supported this claim by showing that Cantonese *beih* and Mandarin *bei* act similarly in some syntactic constructions; that is, both preserve less verbal properties in the dative and causative construction, unlike Cantonese native *bei* (2001, pp. 276–277).

Similar consequences of language contact might have occurred in Min and Xiang since both partially permit omission of a downgraded oblique agent. In fact, the Xiang dialect has been divided into new and old due to heavy influence from its Mandarin neighbors. Norman (1988) referred to the *Hunan Survey* (Yang, 1974) as evidence in support of the conclusion that Xiang dialects are undergoing erosion of their original non-northern dialect features and he wondered whether eventually Xiang would lose its own characteristics and merge into southwestern Mandarin (1988, pp. 208–209). Currently, due to less direct contact with Mandarin as compared to the new Xiang dialect, old Xiang still preserves a more traditional form of speech. The differences between the old and the new in the presence of an oblique agent might be seen as an intermediate stage with respect to the Mandarin influence.

The Min dialect spoken in Taiwan seems to display little language change and borrowing. Individual variations that occur in suppressing an oblique agent are relatively few in contrast to Yue and Xiang. Nevertheless, this unexpected omission of the agent still shows that language change is in progress. To date,

Mandarin has served as the official language in Taiwan for fifty years. As time goes on, it is expected that Mandarin will leave more traces on the Min dialect spoken in Taiwan.

5.0. CONCLUSION AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The passive patterns in Xiang, Min, and Yue demonstrate many similarities in their syntactic and pragmatic domains despite the low degree of mutual intelligibility between the dialects. Particularly, they are common in taking indirect passives as a strategy to strengthen the adversely affected experiencer and in showing a pragmatic ambiguity by employing the same marker for both passive constructions and causative constructions. The passive structures among these three dialects only vary in terms of the presence of an agent, and the restriction in the positive passive application due to an adversative effect.

These variations seem to suggest that Mandarin may have played a role in the development of the passive structure in Xiang, Min, and Yue, especially Yue and new Xiang, just as the passive construction in Mandarin has been influenced by the Indo-European languages, as Chao (1968) suggested. In order to make this claim, however, we would need to explore further the causes of the variations by comparing the speech of one single dialect spoken in different areas. More comparative studies can be done in finding out what is preserved in less influenced dialect varieties, such as old Xiang, Min, and Yue which are spoken in areas other than Taiwan and Hong Kong. By looking into more dialect varieties, there will be more opportunities to track the influence of Mandarin on other dialects through language contact.

NOTES

1. Data from the informants' utterances will be transcribed in IPA if there is no appropriate romanization.
2. All data in Min are based on author's mother tongue spoken in Taiwan.
3. Tsz Him Tsui is a Yue dialect speaker from Hong Kong.
4. The discussion came from my personal communication with Yang Xiao, who is a new Xiang dialect speaker from Yiyang, Hunan.
5. Bin-Feng Wu is an old Xiang dialect speaker from Loudi, Hunan.
6. Personal communication with Professor Ying-Che Li.

WORKS CITED

- Chao, Y.-R. (1968). *A Grammar of spoken Chinese*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Chappell, H. (1986, October). Formal and colloquial adversity passives in standard Chinese. *Linguistics*, 24, 1025–1052.
- Ding, J.-Y. (2003, October). *Xiang yu bei dong*. Paper presented at the conference of han yu bei dong wen ti biao shu guo ji yan tao hui, Central China Normal University, Wuhan.
- Hashimoto, M. J. (1988). The structure and typology of the Chinese passive construction. In M. Shibamoto (Ed.), *Passive and Voice* (pp. 329–354). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Huang, C.-T. J. (1999). Chinese passives in comparative perspective. *Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies*, 29, 423–509.
- Li, C. N., & Thompson, S. A. (1981). *Mandarin Chinese: A functional reference grammar*. Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Li, Y.-C. (2003, October). *Han yu bei dong xing shi fa zhan de ren zhi yi yi*. Paper presented at the conference of han yu bei dong wen ti biao shu guo ji yan tao hui, Central China Normal University, Wuhan.
- Li, Y.-C. (1994). Competing changes and linguistic compromise in Chinese diachronic syntax. In M. Y. Chen & O. J. L. Tzeng (Eds.), *In Honor of William S.-Y. Wang: Inter-disciplinary studies on language and language change* (pp. 263–280). Taipei: Pyramid Press.
- Matthews, S., & Yip, V. (1994). *Cantonese: A comprehensive grammar*. London: Routledge.
- Norman, J. (1988). *Chinese*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- O'Grady, W. (2004). *The syntax files*. Honolulu: Department of Linguistics, University of Hawai'i.
- Tang, S.-W. (2001). A complementation approach to Chinese passives and its consequences. *Linguistics*, 39, 257–295.
- Yang, S.-F. (1974). *Hunan fangyan diaocha baogao*. [A report on Hunan dialects.] Special publications no. 66, Institute of History and Philology. Taipei: Academia Sinica.

POLYSEMY OF CAUSATIVE AND PASSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

Kyuseek Hwang, Department of Linguistics

ABSTRACT

Korean has an ambiguous construction that can have a passive or a causative meaning. Whitman and Han (1988) claim that this ambiguity is resolved by assuming two different derivations: the passive interpretation involves possessor ascension while the causative interpretation does not. In this paper, I propose that the motivation for the possessor ascension movement is the EPP feature if we use the Minimalist Framework and that V moves to T and makes the two DPs equidistant, as in Japanese, following Miyagawa (2000).

1.0. INTRODUCTION

While one of aspect of human language is to have varying linguistic forms to express distinct concepts such as passivization or topicalization, there is also a tendency to economize by using a single linguistic form to express two or more concepts. It is possible to use the same linguistic form for denoting different objects or meanings because the ambiguity arising from using the same form can be solved by linguistic contexts or pragmatic information available to language users. For instance, language users usually do not feel any ambiguity about the word *corner* when they hear “Do you know the bookstore on the *corner* of University Avenue and King Street?”, even though the word *corner* has several related but still distinct meanings such as ‘the inside of the point at which two lines, edges, or surfaces meet,’ ‘the outside of the point at which two lines, edges, or surfaces meet,’ and so forth. We disambiguate the word *corner* by using the information we have about the real world. This kind of ‘multiplicity of meanings’ of words is called polysemy.¹

Polysemy does not seem to be restricted to individual words. Consider the following Korean example (1), which can either have a causative or a passive meaning:

- (1) John-i aki- eykey sonkarak-ul mwul-li-ess-ta
he-NOM² baby-DAT finger-ACC bite-PASS/CAUS PST-DECL
‘He had a finger bitten by a baby.’
a. Passive (experiential: The biting happened to John by a baby)
b. Causative (John arranged for a baby to bite his_i finger)

Sentence (1) is polysemic in the sense that its two meanings relate to each other by sharing the same sub-event, which is “a baby bites a finger”. This kind of ambiguity appears cross-linguistically, as observed by Plungian (1993), Ritter and Rosen (1993), and Washio (1993).

In this paper, I will explore the following questions: (1) Why does such an ambiguity exist? (2) How is the ambiguity resolved? and (3) How can we explain this phenomenon from the viewpoint of the Minimalist Program? The content of this paper is as follows. In Section 2, I describe cross-linguistic data showing the causative-passive ambiguity. In Section 3, I review Washio (1993) and Ritter and Rosen (1993), who argue that because certain kinds of verbs such as English *have* or French *faire* are underspecified in the lexicon, more than one meaning can be realized at the surface. In particular, Washio (1993) proposes that a shared conceptual system is the cause of the polysemy of such verbs. In Section 4, after reviewing Ahn (2001), Kim and Pires (2002), and Kang (1997), I propose two different structures for the causative and passive meanings, despite their seemingly same surface realization in Korean, and then try to answer several possible questions arising from point of view of the Minimalist Program. Section 5 concludes the paper.

2.0. CROSS-LINGUISTIC DATA

An example of causative/passive ambiguity in English is shown in (2):

English

- (2) Mary had her purse snatched.

French and Italian have similar ambiguity in causative and passive sentences. They behave differently from English in that they use reflexive clitics.

French

- (3) Jean s'est fait broyer sa voiture par un camion.
 Jean REF.be.3sg.PRES. done destroy his car by a truck
 'John had his car crushed by a truck.' (Washio, 1993, p. 47)

Italian

- (4) Gianni si e fatto distruggere la macchina da un camion.³
 John REF be.3sg.PRES done destroy the car by a truck
 'John had his car crushed by a truck.'

Japanese also has ambiguous causative and passive sentences. Japanese uses the verb *mora-* 'to receive,' which resembles the English verb *have* since the meaning of 'receiving' and 'having' are close to each other, in the sense that 'if one receives something, probably he has it'.

Japanese

- (5) Taroo-ga sensei-ni kodomo-o home-te mora-ta.
 Taroo-NOM teacher-DAT child-ACC praise receive-PST
 'Taroo had his child praised by the teacher' (Washio, 1993, p. 65)

The last example is from Mongolian, which is very similar to Korean, in that both use a bound morpheme to express the causative and passive meanings.

Mongolian

- (6) a. bi bagsaar garaa bariulav.
 I teacher-INST hand-REF catch-CAUS/PASS-PST
 'I had the teacher catch my hand.'
- b. bi ter bagsaar nuuree zancuulav.
 I that teacher-INST face-REF hit-CAUS/PASS-PST
 'I had that teacher hit my face.' (Washio, 1993, p. 64)

3.0. CONCEPTUAL SYSTEM

3.1. Washio (1993)

Washio (1993) noticed that the sort of ambiguity between the causative and passive meanings is a highly general phenomenon cross-linguistically. He collected relevant data from Japanese, Korean, English, French, and Mongolian. From these data, he observed that the passive and causative meanings share a basic conceptual structure from which the full representations of the two senses are derived by a set of general principles interpreting the affectedness relations between "things" and "events". For instance, he gives us the French example in (7):

French

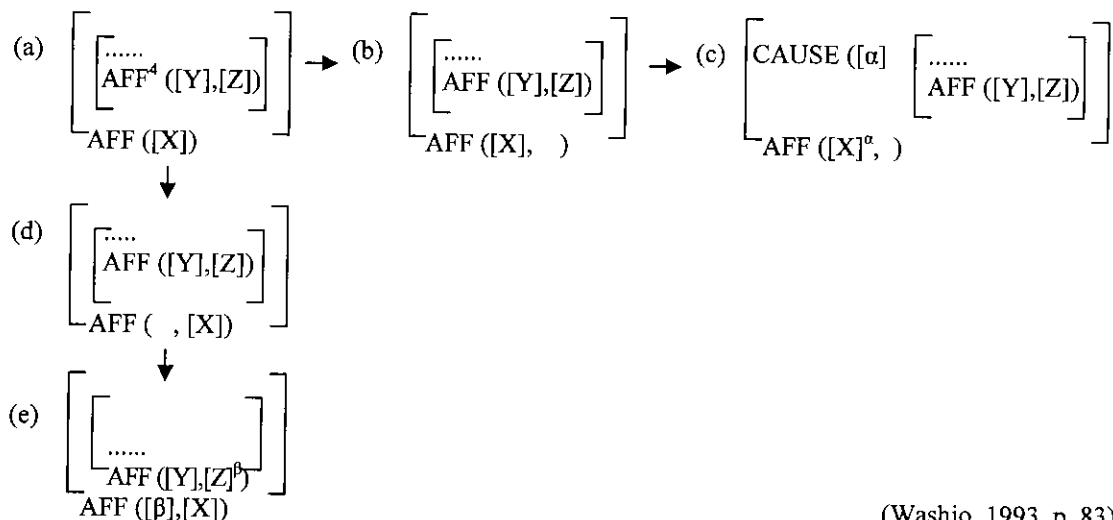
- (7) Jean s'est fait broyer [sa voiture/la voiture de Marie] par un camion.
 Jean REF.be.3sg.PRES done crushed his car/the car of Mary by a truck
 'Jean had [his car/Marie's car] crushed by a truck.'
 (Washio 1993, p. 59)

As the English translation shows, the sentence is ambiguous between a causative and passive meaning. Washio (1993) represents this ambiguity in the following manner:

- (8) a. Jean → [a truck crush(ed) a car]
 b. Jean ← [a truck crush(ed) a car]
 (Washio 1993, p. 69)

He explains that the ambiguity arises from the fact that the only difference between the two meanings is the "direction of affectedness". As (8a) shows, the causative meaning arises when the direction is from "Jean" to "the embedded event," whereas the passive meaning arises when the direction is from "the embedded event" to "Jean," as shown in (8b). This observation leads Washio (1993) to propose that the basic conceptual structure of the French verb *faire* is as in (9):

- (9) Conceptual Structure of *faire*



(Washio, 1993, p. 83)

(9a) represents the essential lexical property of the French causative verb *faire*, where X is not A(rgument)-marked. In other words, the theta-roles of X are underspecified. Accordingly, X could be expressed either as an "Actor" in (b), which is represented in the first argument position of the outer (main) AFFECT function (AFF), or as an "Affectee" in (d), which is represented in the second argument position of the outer AFFECT function. X's relation to the subordinate event (inner AFFECT function) is interpreted either by "the Actor Principle"⁵ or by "the Affectee Principle"⁶, depending on X's status. If the Actor Principle applies, (b) is converted into (c), which is the representation of the causative meaning. In contrast, if the Affectee Principle applies, (d) becomes (e), the representation of the passive meaning, where the Affectee of the main verb is taken to be the Affector of the embedded verb. If one applies the representation of (9) to the French example in (7), X is *John*, Y is *a truck*, and Z is *a car*. (9c) means that *John* (X) is an Actor in the matrix event, *a truck* (Y) is an Actor in the subordinate event, and *a car* (Z) is an Affectee in the subordinate event. On the other hand, (9e) means that *John* is an Affectee in the matrix event, *a truck* (Y) is an Actor in the subordinate event, and *a car* (Z) is an Affectee in the subordinate event. Note, however, that *the car* is also an Actor in the matrix event, in the sense that *the crushed car* affects *John*, which is represented by having the co-index β in (9e).

3.2. Ritter and Rosen (1993)

In the same vein as Washio (1993), Ritter and Rosen (1993) analyze causative and experiencer (or passive) *have*, arguing that this verb has little or no underlying meaning. *Have* comes to mean CAUSE or EXPERIENCER (or AFFECTEE by Washio's terminology) when it forms a complex predicate with another verb. The addition of *have* to another predicate has the effect of extending the event denoted by the predicate to include a peripheral cause or effect (experience). This complex predicate formation takes place at the level of argument structure, and the interpretation of the complex predicate takes place at LF, which implies that we need to assume two different structures for the ambiguous construction. They conclude that there is only one verb *have*, and even though it seems to mean something, the meaning is not part of the lexical representation of the verb, but rather is derived from the syntactic structure.

3.3. Polysemy Derived from the Conceptual System

The first research question raised in Section 1 is why an ambiguity exists between the causative and passive meanings. Washio (1993) seems to be able to answer this question. He explains that this sort of ambiguity occurs because the two meanings share the same conceptual structure, and because the only difference is the direction of affectedness. Furthermore, he proposes that the French causative verb *faire* is underspecified in the lexicon and develops into two different full-fledged syntactic structures. Accordingly, the causative reading has an agent subject (causer) and the passive reading has an experiencer subject. Ritter and Rosen's (1993) idea is similar to Washio's (1993) in that they assume only one English verb *have* for the two different meanings. The final distinct meanings of causative and passive will arise at the post-lexical or syntactic level.

If we synthesize Washio's (1993) and Ritter and Rosen's (1993) ideas, there is one underspecified lexical entry for a causative and passive verb such as French *faire* or English *have*, and the final two distinct meanings of causative and passive will arise at the post-lexical or syntactic level. The mechanism to connect the two distinct meanings is first mentioned by Washio (1993), which is the shared conceptual structure. The only difference between the two meanings (causative and passive) is the direction of affectedness. It is not certain that the shared conceptual structure really triggers polysemy. To prove that the shared conceptual structure triggers polysemy, more research should be done in the future from the viewpoint of psycholinguistic (or computational) and historical linguistics. If a certain psycholinguistic (or computational) experiment can show that a shared conceptual structure might trigger more than two possible readings, or if we can find some historical data which show that one reading existed prior to the other possible readings, such findings would support Washio (1993)'s and Ritter and Rosen (1993)'s explanation.

4.0. SYNTACTIC STRUCTURE

4.1. Ahn (2001) and Sohn (1996, 1999)

Ahn (2001) mentions that the causative and passive suffixes in Korean possess several general properties: (1) there are four passive suffixes (*-i*, *-hi*, *-li*, and *-ki*) and seven causative suffixes (*-i*, *-hi*, *-li*, *-ki*, *-wu*, *-ku* and *-chwu*), and the former seems to be a subset of the latter; (2) the oblique case marker *-eykey* is adopted to indicate the 'newly added' argument constituent, when the verb stem is transitive; (3) the passive and causative suffixes cannot co-occur with each other; (4) they are not compatible with light verbs like *ha-* 'do'; and (5) they cannot attach to verbs of 'conferment' like *cwu-* 'give'. In the framework of the Minimalist Program, Ahn (2001) argues that Korean adds up positive evidence for the *v*-VP structure. Specifically, he proposes that the passive and the causative suffixes occur in (and hence compete for) the same syntactic head position *v*, which takes a VP as its complement, and they occupy that position. By saying that the causative/passive suffixes take the position of *v*, he is able to explain the shared five properties of causative and passive constructions mentioned above. In addition, he claims that Korean light verb *ha-* 'do' and Korean verb *chwu-* 'give' takes the same *v* slot as the causative and the passive suffixes.

On the other hand, Sohn (1999, 1996) proposes that Korean passive suffixes have developed from causative suffixes via functional shift from shared properties such as the same morphological slot, similar forms, occurrence with limited predicates, and shared syntactic behavior. If Sohn (1999, 1996) is right, Korean used to have only a morphological causative construction, and not a morphological passive construction, but at a certain stage, the causative suffixes began to be used to express the passive as well as the causative, which

results in an ambiguity between the two meanings. If we accept Washio (1993)'s proposal, the shared conceptual structure might have triggered the process of polysemy.

In sum, Ahn (2001) proposes that *v* can be occupied by the suffixes, which can have a causative or passive meaning, while Sohn proposes that the passive suffixes started out as causative suffixes. This could explain why such an ambiguity between the causative and passive meanings exists in Korean by assuming that the suffixes themselves are homophonous. Nevertheless, these proposals do not answer the question of why the ambiguity occurs cross-linguistically. They also did not explain how the ambiguity is resolved. Kim and Pires (2002) attempt to answer the latter question with respect to Korean.

4.2. Kim and Pires (2002)

Kim and Pires (2002) propose two different structures for passive and causative interpretations in Korean. Specifically, following Whitman and Hahn (1988), they argue that the NP marked with nominative case (NOM-NP) in a passive construction is base-generated as a part of the NP marked with accusative case (ACC-NP) as a possessor, and then ascends from the base-generated position to the surface position. For the causative interpretation, they argue that the subject is base-generated in the surface position. In short, the two internal structures for the causative and passive are different, even though they look exactly the same. By proposing that they have different internal structures, they can answer the question of how the ambiguity is resolved: different internal structures can trigger different meanings. If we use our example (1), repeated in (10), the structures they propose would be like the following:

- (10) John-i aki-eykey sonkarak-ul wul-li-ess-ta
 John-NOM baby-DAT finger-ACC. bite-PASS/CAUS-PST-DECL
 'John had a finger bitten by a baby.'
 a. Passive: John_i-i aki-eykey t_j sonkarak-ul mwul-li-ess-ta.
 'John was affected by a baby's biting of his finger.'
 b. Causative: John-i aki-eykey sonkarak-ul mwul-li-ess-ta.
 'John let a baby bite his finger.'

(10a) shows that *John* is raised from the position of ACC-NP to the position of NOM-NP, leaving a trace in the position in which it was base-generated. In contrast, (10b) shows that the subject of the matrix clause *John* is base-generated in the matrix clause's subject position.

As independent evidence for the possessor ascension, they claim that the following conditions should be met in the passive, although it is not necessary in the causative. Given that these criteria consistently apply only in the passive, they argue that those criteria follow from the A-movement involved in the passive but not in the causative. Their first condition for the passive is interpretive restriction. In the passive, NOM-NP has to be interpreted as the antecedent of the possessor of ACC-NP as shown in (11). But, in (12), where an overt NP which is not co-referential with the subject is the possessor, only the causative reading is possible.

- (11) John-i Mary-eykey (t_i-GEN) meli-ul kkakk-i-ess-ta.
 John-NOM Mary-DAT hair-ACC cut-CAUS/PASS-PST-DECL
 'John had the hair cut by Mary.'
 (12) John-i Mary-eykey Sue-uy meli-lul kkakk-i-ess-ta.
 John-NOM Mary-DAT Sue-GEN hair-ACC cut-CAUS/PASS-PST-DECL
 a. Causative: John had Mary cut Sue's hair.'
 b. Passive: *John was cut Sue's hair by Mary.'

The second condition is that the NOM-NP should be the exhaustive antecedent of the NP marked with genitive case (GEN-NP). If *John* alone were holding *Sue's book* in (13), then the passive reading is unavailable:

- (13) John-kwa Tom-i Mary-eykey Sue-uy chayk-ul ppayas-ki-ess-ta.
 John-and Tom-NOM Mary-DAT Sue-GEN book-ACC deprive.of-CAUS/PASS-PST-DEC
 a. 'John and Tom were deprived of Sue's book by Mary.'
 b. *'John was deprived of Sue's book by Mary.'

The third condition involves three diagnostic tests (Higginbotham, 1992; Hornstein, 1999; Lebeaux, 1985), which support A-movement of the passive subject. First, the antecedent of the gap, the possessor, should be local as shown in (14). Although *the hair* in (14) could be either *John's* or *Bill's* in the causative, *the hair* must be *Bill's* and cannot be *John's* in the passive:

- (14) John-i Bill-i Mary-eykey meli-lul kkakk-i-ess-ta-ko mal-hay-ss-ta.
 John-NOM Bill-NOM Mary-DAT hair-ACC cut-CAUS/PASS-PST-DECL-COMP speech-do-PST-DECL
 a. 'John said that Bill had Mary cut the hair.'
 b. 'John said that Bill was cut the hair by Mary.'

Second, the antecedent must c-command the gap. In (15) as the causative, *the hair* could either be *John's* or *John's father's*. However, as the passive, *the hair* must be *John's father's*:

- (15) John-uy apeci-ka Mary-eykey meli-lul kkakk-i-ess-ta.
 John-GEN father-NOM Mary-DAT hair-ACC cut-CAUS/PASS-PST-DECL
 a. Causative: 'John's father had Mary cut the hair.'
 b. Passive: 'John's father was cut the hair by Mary.'

Third, only a sloppy reading is possible under ellipsis in the passive (16). If *John's hair* was cut twice, the strict reading 'John was cut his hair and Tom was also cut John's hair' is not acceptable. That is, *the hair* must be *Tom's* in the interpretation of the ellipsis site in the passive.

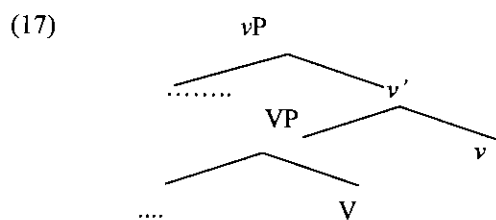
- (16) John-i Mary-eykey meli-lul kkakk-i-ko Tom-to kule-hay-ess-ta.
 John-NOM Mary-DAT hair-ACC cut-PASS/CAUS-and Tom-as.well so-do-PST-DECL
 a. 'John had Mary cut the hair and so did Tom.'
 b. 'John was cut the hair by Mary and so was Tom.'

In sum, Kim and Pires (2002) propose the possessor ascension (A-movement) in the passive to explain the ambiguity of Korean morphological passive and causative. Their evidence is that only the passive has the interpretive restriction of NOM-NP, the impossibility of a subset of the NOM-NP referents as possessor, and three A-movement properties.

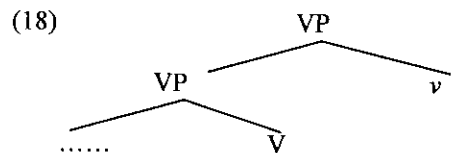
Finally, we need to confirm that Kim and Pires (2002)'s proposal can explain the properties observed by Ahn (2001). The properties observed by Ahn (2001) can be explained by assuming v for the ambiguous construction. Kim and Pires (2002) do not say anything about v , but I will try to explain the properties observed by Ahn (2001) in Section 4.4. In the meantime, Kang (1997) assumes v for the Korean ambiguous suffixes but his proposal is different from Ahn (2001) and Kim and Pires (2002). I review Kang (1997) in Section 4.3.

4.3. Kang (1997)

Whereas Kim and Pires (2002) propose possessor ascension as a way of resolving the ambiguity of the Korean morphological passive and causative, Kang (1997) tries to solve the question of ambiguity resolution by assuming two different kinds of projection with regard to v . The first type of projection is that v takes VP as a complement and then projects vP as following:



The structure shown in (17) follows Chomsky (1995). The ambiguous Korean causative and passive suffixes (*-i*, *hi*, *li*, *ki*) are located in v , which is compatible with Ahn's (2001) analysis. In contrast, the second structure lacks vP , but has only the head v , which combines with VP as shown below:



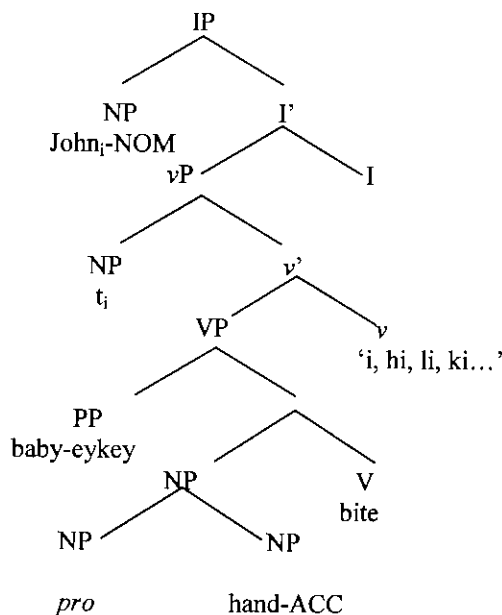
Whereas the projection in (17) results in causative, the projection in (18) results in passive. By assuming two different types of projection with regard to *v*, Kang (1997) tries to explain the fact that the passive and causative in Korean can be expressed with the same morpheme. To answer the question of why the same suffixes trigger both the causative and the passive in Korean, he revised the Bare Phrase Structure framework. However, his proposal is not persuasive in that he does not provide any independent evidence for his assumption, and we do not know of any other case where a functional head is adjoined to a maximal projection as an adjunct.

4.4. Possessor ascension from a Minimalist Program viewpoint

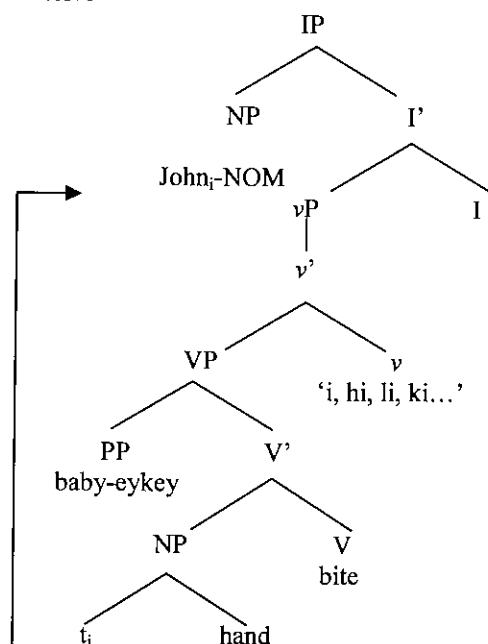
In this section, I try to assess the syntactic analysis of Kim and Pires (2002) in terms of the Minimalist Program. If we accept Ahn (2000)'s and Kim and Pires' (2002) proposal, the structure of the sentence (1) shown again in (19) below can be represented as (20) for causative and (21) for passive:

- (19) John-I aki-eykey sonkarak-ul mwul-li-ess-ta
 he-NOM baby-DAT finger-ACC bite-PASS/CAUS-PST-DECL
 'He had a finger bitten by a baby.'

- (20) Causative



(21) Passive

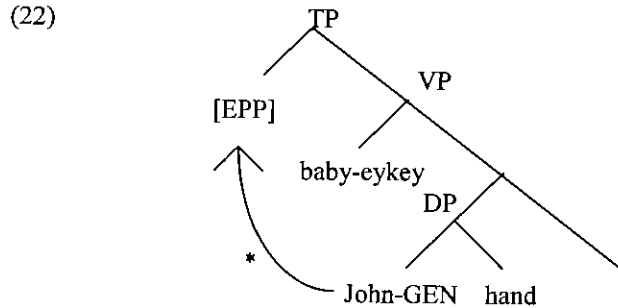


Following Ahn (2000) and Kang (1997), I assume that the causative and passive suffixes are placed at ν , and accordingly, both structures project νP , which is compatible with Chomsky (1995).⁸ In the causative (20), NOM-NP is base-generated in [Spec, νP] and moves to [Spec, IP], based on Kim and Pires (2002), which is also compatible with Chomsky (1995) in the sense that causative verbs are transitive verbs and therefore permit νP projection. The NP marked with dative case (DAT-NP) is taken to be base-generated VP-internally (i.e., [Spec, VP]) like ditransitive constructions (Ahn, 2001; Kang, 1997). In contrast, the NOM-NP in passive (21) is base-generated as the genitive of ACC-NP and raised to [Spec, IP].

This analysis leads us to ask following questions arising from Minimalist Program point of view: First, possessor ascension is a kind of movement, and therefore, must be subject to economy conditions. What is the feature that licenses this movement? Second, how can the VP-internal possessor NP *John* raise to [Spec, IP], skipping DAT-NP in [Spec, VP], apparently violating the Minimal Link Condition (MLC)? As an answer to the first question, I propose that the Extended Projection Principle (EPP) feature licenses the possessor movement. For the second question, I propose that V moves to [Spec, TP] and makes two NPs equidistant as in Japanese, following Miyagawa (2000). I discuss those proposals in Sections 4.4.1 and 4.4.2.

4.4.1. EPP to license the possessor ascension

We assume that EPP is an uninterpretable c(ategory)-selectional feature on T, and accordingly, it requires the presence of nominal in the specifier of T to be checked off (Chomsky, 2000, 2001). In the causative, EPP is checked when the causer *John* moves from [Spec, νP] to [Spec, TP]. By contrast, the passive configuration does not have an NP in [Spec, νP], which means that EPP should be checked off by other NP. Therefore, the GEN-NP of ACC-NP moves to [Spec, TP] and checks EPP. The problem arising from this analysis is that we have another candidate NP to check EPP. It is DAT-NP. In fact, DAT-NP is closer to the target position [Spec, TP] than GEN-NP, as shown in (22). This looks like a violation of MLC, which requires a closer candidate to move



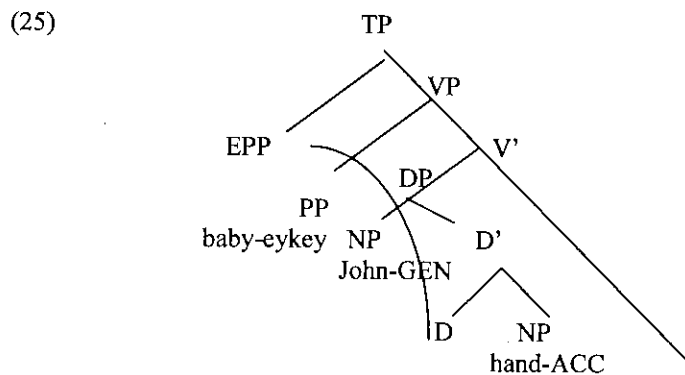
However, this problem can be solved if we assume that the Korean dative marker *-eykey* is different from other case markers. In other words, the dative case seems to be licensed by the lexical morpheme *-eykey* itself rather than by the spec-head configuration. The numeration for the sentence includes the lexical item *-eykey*, which takes *baby* as its argument. Also, *-eykey* has an independent meaning like English *to*, *by* or *from*. Accordingly, it is not an inflectional case marker. In that sense, the phrase *baby-eykey* is a PP rather than a NP. This means that it is not possible candidate to check EPP. Also, my analysis is compatible with Miyagawa (2000), who argues that V moves to T in Japanese. Since functional heads such as tense, modal, or mood markers are added to verbs in Korean, as shown in (23), the assumption that V moves up to T in Korean makes good sense.

- (23) mwul-li-ess-keyss-ta
bite-CAUS/PASS-PST-MODAL-DECL

If V moves to T, every NP within the area are all equidistant to the target position [Spec, TP], which means either one can move to the target position. This is compatible with the sentence in (24):

- (24) John-uy son-i aki-eykey mwul-li-ess-ta. [ACC-marked NP ascension]
John-GEN hand-NOM baby-DAT bite-CAUS/PASS-PST-DECL
'John's hand is bitten by a baby.'

In addition, the GEN-NP *John* can also move if we consider the sentence (19), but the NP-NOM *hand* can't. We need to explain why the GEN-NP *John*, and not the NP-NOM *hand*, can move. If we accept the 'Phase Model' of Chomsky (2001), DP is a phase as CP is. In phase α with head H, the domain of H is not accessible to operation outside α , but accessible only to head H and its edge. Since the position [Spec, DP] is an edge, it is accessible to operation outside DP. This is represented as follows:



5.0. CONCLUSION AND REMAINING QUESTIONS

In this paper, I tried to answer three research questions: (1) why the ambiguity between passive and causative exists; (2) how the ambiguity is resolved in Korean; and (3) how we can analyze the Korean data from a Minimalist Program point of view. To explain the second question, I proposed two different syntactic structures following Kim and Pires's (2002), who claims that the possessor ascends to NOM-NP position. To answer to the third question, I reviewed Kim and Pires's (2002) idea from a minimalist viewpoint. Their

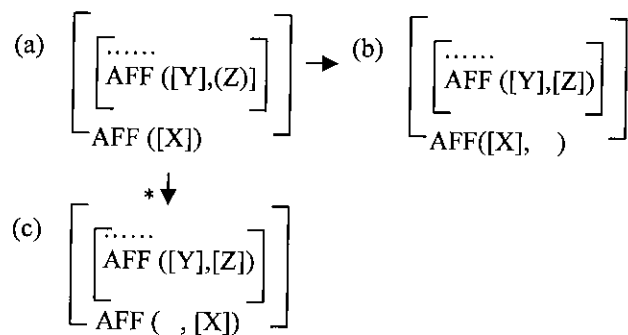
proposal seemed to raise several questions, which could not be solved. Instead, a new analysis was proposed in Section 4.4.

For the question of why the ambiguity between passive and causative exists, Washio (1993) observed that a shared conceptual structure triggers polysemy. Yet, we cannot explain why the sentence (26a) is not ambiguous while (26b) is ambiguous. The sentence (26a) can be interpreted as only causative, which seems to be related to the fact that it does not have a past participle.

- (26) a. John had Jean bite his finger.
b. John had his finger bitten by Jean.

If we use the conceptual structure proposed by Washio (1993), this puzzle can be restated as (27), in which the underspecified lexical property of *have* in (27a) can be developed into only (27b), not (27c).

- (27) A part of conceptual Structure of *have* for (26a)



This seems to suggest that Washio's (1993) explanation is not sufficient. This is one of the puzzles we need to solve as we seek to explain the syntactic ambiguity between causative and passive in future research.

Finally, if the motivation of possessor ascension is EPP, we need to explain how different it is from another kind of EPP driven movement, namely scrambling, as discussed in Miyagawa (2000). All of these questions are beyond the scope of this paper.

NOTES

1. This is different from a homonym. In homonyms, the meanings of a word are not related with one another (e.g., *bank*: (1) A business organization which performs services connected with money; (2) Land along the side of a river or lake). This contrasts with polysemy, in which the meanings of a word are closely related to one another (e.g., *corner*).
2. The following abbreviations are used in this paper: NOM (nominative), DAT (dative), ACC (accusative), PASS (passive), CAUS (causative), PST (Past), DECL (declarative), 3sg (third person singular), PRES (present), REF (reflexive), INST (instrument).
3. This sentence was provided by personal communication with Fabiana Piccolo (April 2004), who is a native speaker of Italian.
4. Jackendoff (1990) claims that conceptual roles fall into two distinct but related tiers, called the Thematic Tier and the Action Tier, the former "dealing with motion and location" and the latter "dealing with Actor-Patient relations" (Jackendoff, 1990, p. 126). On this view, roles such as Theme, Goal, and Source appear in the Thematic Tier, and roles like Actor and Patient/Undergoer/Beneficiary appear in the Action Tier, the two tiers being represented as independent lines in the conceptual structure. The traditional notion Agent splits up into Actor and (extrinsic) Instigator: the former, defined as the first argument of the AFFECT function, belongs to the Action Tier, and the latter, defined as the first argument of the CAUSE function, belongs to the Thematic Tier.
5. "Actor Principle" is defined as follows: "If X is an actor and E is a bare subordinate event, then relate X to E as the instigator of E." (Washio, 1993, p. 83).

6. "Affectee" is determined as follows: "If X is an affectee that is completely disconnected from the subordinate event E, then interpret it by relating it to E itself." (Washio, 1993, p. 82)
7. The first three observations seem to be noteworthy, but the last two observations are not in that any other verb stem cannot co-occur with *ha-* 'do' or *chwu-* 'give'.
8. As discussed in section 4.3, Kang's (1997) proposal does not include any independent evidence, and we do not know of any other such case. Accordingly, I do not follow his proposal here.

WORKS CITED

- Ahn, S.-H. (2001). What can Korean say about the v-VP structure? *Harvard Studies in Korean Linguistics*, 9, 211–222.
- Chomsky, N. (1995). *The minimalist program*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. (2000). Minimalist inquiries: The framework. In R. Martin, D. Michaels, & J. Uriagereka (Eds.), *Step by step: Essays on minimalist syntax in honor of Howard Lasnik* (pp. 89–155). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. (2001). Derivation by phase. In M. Kenstowicz (Ed.), *Ken Hale: A life in language* (pp. 1–52). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Higginbotham, J. (1992). Reference and control. In R. K. Larson, S. Iatridou, U. Lahiri, & J. Higginbotham (Eds.), *Control and grammar* (pp. 79–108). Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Hornstein, N. (1999). Movement and control. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 30, 69–96.
- Jackendoff, R. (1990). *Semantic structures*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Kang, M.-Y. (1997). Bare phrase approach to Korean morphological causative/passive construction. *Language Research*, 33, 79–100.
- Kim, H.-S., & Pires, A. (2002). Ambiguity in the Korean morphological causative/passive. Ms., University of Michigan at Ann Arbor.
- Lebeaux, D. (1985). Locality and anaphoric binding. *Linguistic Review*, 4, 343–363.
- Miyagawa, S. (2000). The EPP, scrambling, and wh-in-situ. In M. Kenstowicz (ed.), *Ken Hale: A life in language*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Plungian, V. A. (1993). Three causatives in Dogon and the overlapping of causative and passive markers. In B. Comrie & M. Polinsky (eds.), *Causatives and transitivity* (pp. 391–396). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Ritter, E., & Rosen, S. T. (1993). Deriving causation. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, 11, 519–555.
- Sohn, H.-M. (1999). *The Korean language*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Sohn, H.-M. (1996). Reanalysis in Korean complex predicate constructions: Causative derivation. *Japanese/Korean Linguistics*, 5, 37–64.
- Washio, R. (1993). When causatives mean passive. *Journal of East Asian Linguistics*, 2, 45–90.
- Whitman, J., & Hahn, S. (1988). Korean Morphological Passives/Causatives. In E.-J. Baek (Eds.), *Papers from the Sixth International Conference on Korean Linguistics*. Seoul: Hanshin.

SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS AND TELICITY IN MANDARIN

Jonathan Smith, Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures

ABSTRACT

Sets of events within single-agent multiple-event serial verb constructions in Mandarin Chinese exhibit a number of characteristic patterns of telicity: initial-position atelic events are understood to co-occur with and establish *modes* in which secondary-position events take place, while initial telic events are interpreted as ending prior to the inception of secondary events and providing, with their final state the *conditions* under which secondary events occur. Such event-structure patterns exhibit similar effects in a number of other sentence types, where again they provide critical cues for the interpretation of temporal structure and thus of sentence meaning.

1.0. SERIAL VERB CONSTRUCTIONS

A sentence in Mandarin Chinese may contain two or more adjacent verb phrases without any marker indicating the specific nature of the relationship between them. Li and Thompson (1981) suggests the schematic form in (1):

- (1) (NP) V (NP) (NP) V (NP)

Thus, they encompass under the rubric of what the authors term *serial verb constructions*, in addition to cases in which two or more separate events are expressed, instances featuring a number of other sorts of relations among sentence constituents (e.g., instances in which one verb phrase or clause serves as subject or direct object of the other, or the pivotal constructions of Chao, 1968, in which a central noun phrase is at once direct object of the first verb and subject of the second). The present study leaves such conditions aside to focus on what can be termed *multiple-event serial verb constructions*. Furthermore, this study concentrates on utterances in which a *single agent* is understood to perform the entire set of actions. Such sentences take the form in (2):

- (2) NP V (NP) V (NP)

Constructions of this type are in a sense the most iconic members of Li and Thompson's family of serial verb constructions, in that the actions expressed, by virtue of being performed over time by a single agent, can be said to be serial in the semantic as well as the syntactic sense:

- (3) 她 上 楼 睡 觉。
Tā shàng lóu shuì jiào.
she ascend building sleep.
'She (went / goes / is going) upstairs to sleep.'

- (4) 我 开 车 去 超 市。
Wǒ kāi chē qù chāo-shì.
I operate car go supermarket
'I (drive / am going to drive) to the supermarket.'

In both examples above, the progress of the action at the time of speaking is indeterminate. Yet, certain observations may be made about the temporal relationship between the two actions described. In (3), the two events, going upstairs and sleeping, are interpreted as occurring one after the other in temporal sequence. In (4), the same is true, at least in the sense that during the course of the action narrated, the act of driving a car is established before the act of going to the supermarket is complete. However, the relationship between the pair of events in (4) is clearly different from that in (3), for what we are presented with is not a sequence of discrete actions; the two events are rather coincident in time. Depending on discourse context, the first event might be construed as carried out for the purpose of accomplishing the second event, or simply as the instrumental means by which the second event is achieved. The intent of the present study, then, is to conduct an investigation of the structure of the events that become combined in such single-agent multiple-event constructions, and examine the relationship between combinations of certain event types and sentence meaning.

2.0. EVENT TELICITY

Vendler's (1967) four-way classification of verbs by aspect focuses on temporal properties, in particular duration, internal structure, and termination. The quality of termination, which is central to the present study, concerns the distinction between events that are *telic*, containing an inherent temporal endpoint, and those that are *atelic*, lacking such an endpoint and thus of indeterminate duration. The same dichotomy has been described in terms of *homogeneity* (Hinrichs, 1985): a small temporal slice of a homogenous event retains the essential qualities of the whole, as a single moment of driving a car remains an instance of driving a car; non-homogenous events, by contrast, embody progressions, meaning that individual temporal segments of such an event differ necessarily from the event considered in its entirety.

In the present analysis, verb phrases within serial event constructions are categorized on the basis of such criteria as either telic or atelic. For the sake of simplicity, we consider such features as belonging to the verb phrase as a whole, rather than attending to the aspectual classes of individual verbs. Olsen (1997) has proposed a system of aspectual interpretation based on feature composition, in which features established by the verb may be added to *but not removed* by additional sentential constituents. On this theory, for example, in *run to the store*, the features [+durative] and [+dynamic] are provided by the verb *run* and propagate to the sentence level, while [+telic] is added by the prepositional phrase (Olsen, Traum, Van Ess-Dykema, Weinberg, & Dolan, 2000). The situation in Mandarin appears somewhat more complex. Often, an action verb may be followed by certain temporal expressions (*zǒu yí huìr* 'walk for a while') or be subjected to reduplication (*zǒu zǒu* 'walk for a while'), both of which imply duration and suggest that the action of the verb is atelic. However, in certain circumstances, the same verb may also, absent complements or objects of any kind, denote a telic event, as (5) and (7) below. Certainly, though, when action verbs are combined with objects of non-specific reference, such as location within verb-object compounds, the events described are understood to be atelic, as (6) and (8):

- (5) 她 不 愿 走。
Tā bú yuàn zǒu.
she not willing walk/leave
'She doesn't want to leave.'
- (6) 她 不 喜 欢 走 路。
Tā bù xǐhuān zǒu-lù.
she not like walk-road
'She doesn't like walking.'
- (7) 你 跟 他 说 吧。
Nǐ gēn tā shuō ba.
you with him say PA
'You tell him/her.'
- (8) 你 跟 他 说 话 吧。
Nǐ gēn tā shuō-huà ba.
you with him say-words PA
'You talk to him/her.'

That is, in Mandarin, an event such as *xiě xìn* 'write letter' denotes an atelic event, a process of letter writing, but of no particular letter or quantity of letters and of indeterminate duration, while the event *write a letter* in English is generally telic, conveying the process of writing and ending in the state in which the letter is complete. This telic event in Mandarin would be expressed by *xiě yì fēng xìn* 'write one CL letter,' requiring a classifier (perhaps in such circumstances better described with the traditional term *measure word*) for the bounded interpretation.

For ease of classification, we focus on cases such as this one in which objects are present and the telic/atelic distinction is thus relatively straightforward. Conventional adverbial tests for telicity may be applied in such instances, including an analogue of Dowdy's 1979 *in/for* test, which notes that temporal adverbial

expressions with *in* (e.g. *in ten minutes*) modify telic events, while those with *for* (*for ten minutes*) modify atelic ones. The parallel in Mandarin is that in the case of verbs combined with objects of non-specific reference as in (6) and (8), any of a variety of temporal expressions may be interposed between verb and object to convey duration, verifying the atelicity of the action (*zǒu shí fēn zhōng lù* 'walk for ten minutes'). In the case of telic events, such interposition is unacceptable. The possibility of reduplication of the verb element is also often an indicator of atelicity (*zǒu zǒu lù* 'walk for a while').

3.0. THE ATELIC FIRST ACTION

Past discussions of the sorts of serial verb construction under consideration here have focused on the nature of the semantic relationship between the events described: simple temporal sequences, cases in which the second event is the purpose of the first or occurs under the circumstances of the first, and so forth (Li & Thompson, 1981). Here, we instead focus on the telicity of the events concerned, and furthermore, the effects of telicity on interpretation of the temporal relationship between the events. We first consider sentences in which the serial verb construction expresses two *simultaneous* actions performed by the agent:

- (9) 我 再 也 不 能 吃 饭 看 书 了。
 Wǒ zài yě bù néng chī-fàn kàn-shū le.
 I again also not can eat meal read book PA
 'I mustn't read while I'm eating anymore.'

- (10) 她 老 睡 觉 说 梦 话。
 Tā lǎo shuì-jiào shuō mèng--huà.
 she always sleep say dream-word
 'She always talks in her sleep.'

In the examples above, the two events are felt to occur simultaneously. A consideration of the structure of the events reveals that they share features: most important for our purposes, both are atelic events. The two are clearly not of equal status, however. In terms of Li and Thompson's framework, the relationship between the two events can be characterized as one of *circumstance*, in which the first event provides background for the second. It seems plausible that such an interpretation is due particularly to the atelicity of the initial-position event. In (9), for example, *chī-fàn* 'eat-meal' is an atelic eating event. The phrase is *not* suggestive of the process of eating ending in the completion of the meal (as English *eat a meal*), a notion which in Mandarin would require the addition of an aspectual marker or measure word. As such, the eating event is not felt to end, and the subsequent reading event is interpreted as overlapping with it in time.

The fact that the eating event here occupies the initial position is also significant. The strong tendency in Mandarin for event sequence in discourse to match the temporal sequence in which events occur, considered elsewhere one aspect of the *iconicity* of the language (Hsieh, 1989), is apparent here. As discussed above in relation to example (4), it is not the case that the sleeping event in (10) takes place entirely prior to the talking event; rather, the two events are understood to overlap in time. However, it is certainly necessary that the sleeping event be *established* first, as the agent must be asleep before she begins to talk in her sleep. Similarly, in (9), although the two events are felt to co-occur, eating is understood to be the first-established, and thus the primary, activity of the agent. In the case of an initial-position atelic event, then, the unbounded structure of the event, in combination with its initial syntactic position, produce an interpretation of coincidence in time and of the prior establishment of the initial action.

It is by no means necessary that an atelic "first event" be followed by another atelic event:

- (11) 他 经 常 打 人 出 气。
 Tā jīngcháng dǎ rén chū-qì.
 he often hit people expel air
 'He often beats people to let off steam.'
- (12) 我 不 痛 快 的 时 候 喝 酒 解 闷。
 Wǒ bù tòngkuai de shíhou hē jiǔ jiě mèn.

I not happy NOM time drink alcohol dispel gloom
 'When I'm unhappy, I drink to dispel my gloom.'

In the examples above we find atelic events followed instead by telic ones. The relationship obtaining between the two events might in the above cases be termed *purposeful*, for we could pose that the first action is done with the intent of achieving the second. However, a more general appreciation of the significance of (11) and (12) is possible from the perspective of event structure. The basic observations made just above still hold here: the initial event, being atelic (as discussed above, verb-object compounds, here *dǎ rén* 'hit people' and *hē jiǔ* 'drink alcohol,' refer to generic, unbounded events rather than to particular, terminating ones), is again understood not to end, and the second event thus is understood as occurring simultaneously with it. Additionally, the sequence in which the events are placed informs the listener that the first action is the initial one. It is unclear, of course, at precisely what point after beginning to beat someone the agent in (11) may begin to let off steam; a considerable time lag may exist, or it might be the case that the two events begin essentially simultaneously. Whatever the case, it is clear that letting-off-of-steam will not take place without establishment of the hitting event by the agent, just as the gloom-dispelling event requires the drinking event in (12). In examples (9)–(12), then, atelicity of the initial-position event suggests co-occurrence. This event may be understood as establishing a *mode* in which the second event occurs: from reading in eating-mode in (9) to dispelling gloom in drinking-alcohol-mode in (12).

We turn now to a discussion of how the same principles operate in other related sentence types: *-zhe* constructions and *resultative verb compounds*.

3.1. The *-Zhe* Construction

Simultaneous action in Mandarin is most strongly associated with the *-zhe* construction, where principles akin to those discussed above appear to be at work:

- (13) 她 低着 头 走路。
 Tā dī-zhe tóu zǒulù.
 she lower-DUR head walk
 'She walks with her head lowered.'
- (14) 我 们 开 着 窗 户 睡 觉。
 Wǒmen kāi-zhe chuāng-hu shuì-jiào.
 we open-DUR window sleep
 'We sleep with the window open.'

The phrases *dī tóu* 'lower head' and *kāi chuāng-hu* 'open window' are both bounded events. The former entails the process of turning the head from a raised to a lowered position, ending in a state in which the head is bowed. The latter describes the process of moving a window from a closed to an open position, ending in a state in which the window is open. In (13) and (14), the addition of the durative aspect marker *-zhe* might be seen as drawing attention to the ending, *stative* moment of the telic event. That is, the event's process is deemphasized and the endpoint, *the atelic event within the telic one*, is highlighted. (Such a formulation seems reasonable in that telic events may end in what are clearly activities rather than states, e.g. *The runner slowed to a jog*, and more to the point, the "borderline" between atelic events and states is in any case no more than some arbitrary degree of granularity.) Again then in the case of the *-zhe* construction, an atelic action, here as an emphasized component of a larger telic one, establishes a mode in which the following event is understood to take place.

3.2. Resultative Verb Compounds

Mandarin's *resultative verb compounds* are traditionally analyzed as unitary rather than as serial verb constructions as such. However, it is worth noting that many sentences employing such compounds meet the syntactic requirements for serial verb constructions noted in the introduction, and in fact, in terms of event telicity, share key features with the body of examples presented above:

- (15) 我 把 茶 杯 打 破 了。
 Wǒ bǎ chá-bēi dǎ pò le.
 I BA tea-cup hit broke PA

‘I broke the teacup.’

- (16) 他的钱用完了。
 Tā de qián yòng wán le.
 he GEN money use finish PA
 ‘His money is all used up.’

Events that in English are described using a single verb in (15), or a verb and preposition in (16), are in Mandarin expressed with a pair of verbs. A description of the breaking of a cup by an agent thus requires *dǎ* ‘strike,’ the agent’s action, combined with *pò* ‘break,’ what happens to the cup. Similarly, the concept of exhausting a resource requires a combination of *use* and *finish*, again with the former action associated with the agent and the latter with the resulting change of state. Theories of event structure proposing that complex events may be decomposed into two events where “the outer event is associated with causation and agency, and the inner event is associated with telicity and change of state” (Tenny & Pustejovsky, 2000, p. 7) are accommodated perfectly in Mandarin.

The idea of an “outer, agentive” event paired with an “inner, telic” event applies not only to the resultative verb compounds; it dovetails nicely with the idea of atelic modification in serial verb compounds, for in sentences such as (4), (11) and (12) above, we are dealing precisely with a pair of events, the first of which is associated with agency and causation, and the second of which describes a telic change of state. By means of an agent *driving the car*, *hitting people*, and *drinking alcohol*, respectively, the state changes expressed by *go to the supermarket*, *let off steam*, and *dispel gloom* are brought about, just as in (15), in which an agent *strikes* and the cup, as a result, *breaks*. Mandarin’s remarkable consistency in its characterization of events is ultimately explicable by reference to iconicity. The secondary-position change of state is predicated upon prior establishment of the atelic *mode* event. This fact, in Mandarin, determines the order of sentence constituents.

We next consider serial verb constructions in which it is telic events that play the critical role.

4.0. TELIC SEQUENCING

Single-agent multiple-event serial verb constructions often describe a sequence of actions, as in (3) above, and the following examples:

- (17) 我想到北京找医生看病。
 Wǒ xiǎng dào Běijīng zhǎo yīsheng kàn---bīng.
 I want go Beijing find doctor look sickness
 ‘I want to go to Beijing and seek out a doctor for medical care.’
- (18) 你快下床穿鞋去厕所小便。
 Nǐ kuài xià chuáng chuān xié qù cèsuǒ xiǎobiàn.
 You fast descend bed put: on shoes go bathroom urinate
 ‘Hurry and get up, put on your shoes, go to the bathroom and pee.’

It is clear in (17) and (18) that the realization of each action requires the completion of the previous actions, and that this condition holds whether the sentence has a past or a future reference. In (17), for example, completion of the first action, going to Beijing, is prerequisite for execution of the second action, finding a doctor, whose completion is in turn prerequisite for the execution of the final action, getting medical care. The event structure of the final event in such cases is not critical, but each of the events composing the pre-final sequence is interpreted as telic. Such examples lend credence to suggestions that telic events, absent other cues, will be interpreted as completed prior to the next event or state (Dowty, 1986). By considering a telic event as itself composed of a process and a final state, we may claim somewhat more specifically that in the case of two coordinated events in which the first is telic, the second event will be interpreted as taking place under the conditions defined by the stative endpoint of the preceding telic event.

4.1. Combinations

Telic “condition providing” events can be combined with atelic “mode providing” ones to create longer sequences:

- (19) 我跑步上楼拿板凳。

Wǒ pǎo-bù shàng lóu ná bǎndèng.

I run-steps ascend building get stool

‘I ran upstairs to get the stool.’

- (20) 我想去上海打工挣钱。

Wǒ xiǎng qù Shànghǎi dǎ-gōng zhèng qián.

I want go Shanghai do-labor earn money ‘I want to go to Shanghai and work to make money.’

The principles discussed above continue to apply in such cases. In (19), *pǎo-bù* ‘run-steps,’ being atelic, is understood to co-occur with the next action, *shàng lóu* ‘ascend building’. The running action is placed before the going upstairs action in the utterance by virtue of being fully realized earlier in time: an atelic event is homogenous, meaning its structure is fully realized upon inception, whereas the structure of the (non-homogenous) telic event is fully realized only upon completion. Next, because ‘ascend building’ is telic, it is understood to reach completion prior to the subsequent action. More precisely, in the case of (19), the action of getting the stool is understood to occur under the conditions defined by the stative ending of the preceding telic event, namely, being upstairs.

6.0. CONCLUSION

This paper has attempted to show that in single-agent multiple-event serial verb constructions in Mandarin Chinese, atelic events are understood to co-occur with and provide modes for subsequent events, while telic events are felt to precede and provide conditions for subsequent events. In related sentence types as well, telic and atelic events play consistent roles with respect to sentence semantics, and such event-structure properties provide important clues to sentence interpretation.

WORKS CITED

- Chao, Y.-R. (1968). *A grammar of spoken Chinese*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Dowty, D. (1986). The effects of aspectual class on the temporal structure of discourse: Semantics or pragmatics? *Linguistics and Philosophy*, 9, 37–61.
- Hinrichs, E. (1985). A Compositional Semantics for Aktionsarten and NP Reference in English. Doctoral dissertation, Ohio State University.
- Hsieh, H. I. (1989). Time and imagery in Chinese. In J. H. Y. Tai & F. F. S. Hsueh (Eds.), *Functionalism and Chinese grammar* (pp. 45–94). Honolulu, HI: Chinese Language Teachers Association, Monograph Series No. 1.
- Li, C. N., & Thompson, S.A. (1981). *Mandarin Chinese: A functional reference grammar*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Olsen, M. B. (1997). *A semantic and pragmatic model of lexical and grammatical aspect*. New York: Garland Publications.
- Olsen, M., & Traum, D., Van Ess-Dykema, C., Weinberg, A., & Dolan, R. (2000). Telicity as a cue to temporal and discourse structure in Chinese-English machine translation. Language and Media Processing Laboratory Publications, online at <http://lampsrv01.umiacs.umd.edu/pubs/abstract.php?id=206>.
- Tenny, C., & Pustejovsky, J. (2000). A history of events in linguistic theory. In C. Tenny & J. Pustejovsky (Eds.), *Events as grammatical objects: The converging perspectives of lexical semantics and syntax* (pp. 3–37). Stanford, California: Center for the Study of Language and Information Publications.
- Vendler, Z. (1967). Verbs and time. In Z. Vendler (Ed.), *Linguistics in Philosophy*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press.

V. Teaching Second Languages

THE EFFECTS OF TEXT AND QUESTION TYPE ON ESL LISTENING COMPREHENSION

Sumi Chang, Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures

ABSTRACT

In this study, the effects that text and question types have on ESL listening comprehension were investigated. A comparison was made between a lecture and a narrative for listening type, and between multiple-choice and open-ended questions for question type. Thirty-two college-level ESL learners listened to two different text versions about two topics, and the test scores were analyzed to compare performance on the different text types. The results indicated that text type effect is not significant, but question type effect is significant.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

In recent years, with the spread of English as a world language and the increase in global communication, listening comprehension by non-native speakers has become a more important language skill for non-native speakers (Mendelsohn, 1998). Such a shift in communicative need has led to a greater emphasis on language activities designed to improve listening comprehension ability, which in turn has increased the demand for valid and reliable listening comprehension assessment (Dunkel, 1991). Assessment is an integral part of instruction because it provides feedback to the learners which is essential to learning (Rost, 2002). Listening is probably the least explicit of the four language skills, making it a difficult skill to research. Aural input exists in real time and needs to be processed quickly; such covert characteristics have contributed to the limited amount of research on listening (Vandergrift, 2004). This paper will report on the effects of two text types and two question types on listening comprehension with a focus on the issue of comprehensibility of distinct genres in listening.

2.0. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1. The Construct of Listening Comprehension

In measuring listening comprehension in a second language, valid and reliable assessment instruments become a major concern. In order to develop assessment instruments that are appropriate, the construct must first be defined. The construct is what the test attempts to measure, and an assessment will be valid only if it measures the right construct (Buck, 2000, cited in Rost, 2002).

Defining listening comprehension is not a clear and simple matter. Unlike in the past, when listening was assumed to be passive, now it is recognized as an active process (Vandergrift, 2004). Wolvin and Coakley (1982) give a rather broad definition of listening comprehension as involving complex processes where the listeners play an active role. They define listening comprehension as the process of (a) receiving aural stimuli, (b) attending to the aural stimuli that were received, and (c) assigning meaning to aural stimuli that were received.

2.2. Listening Assessment Instruments

In second language listening comprehension tests, two components interact to play important roles: the listening stimuli and the test questions (Shohamy & Inbar, 1991). Stimulus materials refer to the aural texts to which the listeners will be exposed during the testing. Assessment tasks refer to the tasks which the listeners complete (i.e., listening comprehension questions), demonstrating their comprehension level of the stimulus materials. The more features of oral speech a text has, the easier it is to listen and to understand (Shohamy & Inbar, 1991).

2.2.1 Listening text: Oral vs. written language

In contrast to written texts, oral texts are less complex syntactically, more redundant, and contain more pauses. Such traits make oral texts potentially easier to understand (Rubin, 1994). Yet, oral texts vary in their degree of orality or the degree to which features of oral speech is displayed (Raforth & Rubin, 1984, cited in Shohamy & Inbar, 1991). For example, lectures tend to have a higher degree of orality than narratives, as seen

in Figure 1. Regarding the oral features of spoken language, Tannen (1985) notes that they do not reflect a rigid dichotomy of orality versus literacy, but rather reflect the relative degree of orality. Figure 1 shows the position of lecture and narrative text types using Shohamy and Inbar's oral/literate continuum, with oral features at one end and literate features at the other.

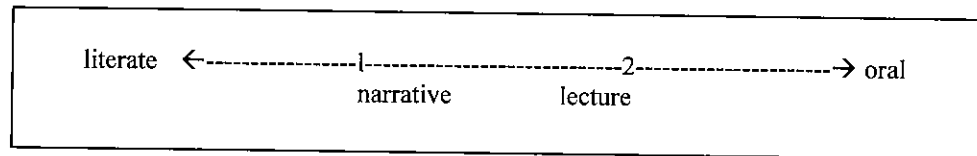


Figure 1. The positions of oral texts along the oral/literate continuum (Shohamy & Inbar, 1991, p. 29)

2.2.2. Listening assessment task: Recall vs. recognition

Two different tasks are used in this study to assess listening comprehension: multiple-choice (MC) and open-ended (OE) question types. Findings have shown that a recognition test on the information leads to better performance in terms of response probability compared to a recall test (Postman, 1950, cited in Loftus & Loftus, 1976). In a classroom setting, students know that they do better on true-false or MC (recognition) tests than on OE or fill in the blank (recall) tests (Loftus & Loftus, 1976). Recognition tests usually yield superior performance. On the contrary, recall tests require an extra step of production (Loftus & Loftus, 1976).

2.3. Previous Research on Text and Question Types in Listening Comprehension

By showing the consistency of the results across different texts, generalizability of a study can be improved. The few studies examining listening have shown significant differences in comprehension for different text types (Berne, 1992; Herron & Seay, 1991; Shohamy & Inbar, 1991). In her extensive review of research on second language listening comprehension, Rubin (1994) lists text type as one of the factors that affect listening comprehension.

Herron and Seay (1991) studied the effect of authentic texts on listening comprehension. Twenty-three university students enrolled in two third-semester intermediate French classes participated in this experiment involving listening to a radio program. The study concludes that when accompanied by proper instructional planning, exposure to authentic oral texts can lead to improved listening comprehension skills.

Selecting an appropriate listening text is made difficult by many considerations. In particular, finding an authentic passage at the appropriate proficiency level that will also be interesting to the students is a challenge. Further study is needed on the interaction between text type and background knowledge. Chiang and Dunkel (1992) nullified their earlier conclusion that background knowledge improves listening comprehension when the significant effect was found only on the passage independent items, instead of on the passage dependent items.

In a listening comprehension task, Shohamy and Inbar (1991) investigated three text types and two question types. For question type, local (i.e., questions referring to specific details) and global (i.e., questions referring to the overall idea) question types were compared using 150 Israeli high school students as study participants. In summary, the local question type yielded significantly higher scores compared to the global question type.

2.4. Purpose

In this paper, two hypotheses about listening stimuli and test question types are tested. First, it is hypothesized that text type will have a significant effect on listening comprehension, and the students listening to the lecture text as a stimulus would score higher than the students listening to the narrative text because of the higher degree of orality in the lecture text. Second, it is hypothesized that question type will have a significant effect on listening comprehension, with students performing better on multiple-choice questions than on open-ended questions because MC questions require recognition, while OE questions require recall.

3.0. METHOD

3.1. Participants

The participants included thirty-two students enrolled in two intact classes of advanced listening and speaking courses at the English Language Institute (ELI) of the University of Hawai'i at Manoa. Both classes were taught by the researcher using the same syllabus. Their TOEFL scores ranged from 180 to 247, with listening comprehension scores ranging from 15 to 23. The students' native languages were Japanese, Chinese, Tetum, Korean, Vietnamese, Indonesian, Samoan, and Thai.

3.2. Materials

3.2.1. Vocabulary list

For each of the two topics, a vocabulary list of ten words was prepared by the instructor based on her knowledge of having taught the same course in the past. In order to prepare students for the listening task, the definition and an example sentence showing the usage of the target word were given for each word. As part of the pre-viewing activity, the instructor went over the list of vocabulary with the participants before viewing the video.

3.2.2. Listening text

In order to investigate the effects of text type on L2 listening comprehension, two text types (TT) were chosen for the study, a lecture (TT1) and a narrative (TT2). For TT2, the transcripts of the lecture text were revised to make the content grammatical. The short idea units in forms of phrases and clauses were revised into grammatical sentences. In the process, filler words were eliminated, while redundancies and repetitions were kept. Studies (Chaudron, 1983; Chiang & Dunkel, 1992) show that redundancy is important in comprehension. The revised text then was narrated by an ELI teacher who has experience in recording the aural text for the ELI's listening placement test. As the text statistics in Table 1 show, the readability index of each text and topic is very similar. The Flesch formula is one of the best-known readability measures, and the range of reading ease score of 65.6 to 66.1 falls within standard degree of difficulty (Harrison, 1980).

Table 1. *Text Statistics*

	Topic 1 TT1	Topic 1 TT2	Topic 2 TT1	Topic 2 TT2
Number of Words	994	928	804	728
Flesch Reading Index	65.8	65.6	65.7	66.1
Flesch-Kincaid Level	8.1	8.0	7.2	7.5
Length in Time (min.)	7:00	6:40	6:00	5:20
Words/Minute	142	139	134	137

Note. TT = text type

3.2.3. Test questions

Two question types were chosen for the study: an MC and an OE set of questions. They are some of the common assessment tasks or test formats used for assessing listening comprehension. The participants were expected to be familiar with both question types.

3.3. Test Administration

One class viewed the video of a lecture on *Lion Behavior* (Topic 1, TT1) and a narrative on *Intervention* (Topic 2, TT2), while the other class viewed the video of a narrative on *Lion Behavior* (Topic 1, TT2) and a lecture on *Intervention* (Topic 2, TT1). The first ten to fifteen minutes were spent studying the vocabulary list, followed by a brief general discussion. Then, the comprehension test was distributed. Once these pre-video activities were completed, the students viewed the videotape once. They were encouraged to take notes. Immediately after viewing the video, which ranged from 5:20 to 7:00 in duration, the students were asked to take the test. The test contained five MC questions in the first part, and five OE questions in the second part. No time limit was given to complete the test, with most students taking less than twenty minutes to complete it. All the participants were familiar with the three-step listening activity (i.e., pre-listening, during-

listening, and post-listening activities) after having done similar types of listening exercises throughout the previous nine weeks of the semester.

3.4. Scoring

Each question was worth one point; one point was given to each correct answer and also to answers listed under "acceptable" answers in the answer key. No penalty was given for incorrect answers. Some of the unclear distinctions on what would be an acceptable answer were discussed with the ELI lead teacher of the Listening and Speaking Curriculum Area and mutually agreed upon between the lead teacher and the researcher.

4.0. RESULTS

For each of the two topics, the two independent variables were the text type and the question type. The dependent variable was the score the participants achieved on the listening comprehension tests (see Table 2).

Table 2. *Within-Subjects Factors*

Text Type (TT)	Question Type (QT)	Dependent Variable
Lecture (TT1)	Multiple Choice (QT1)	TT1QT1
	Open-ended (QT2)	TT1QT2
Narrative (TT2)	Multiple Choice (QT1)	TT2QT1
	Open-ended (QT2)	TT2QT2

Note. TT = text type; QT = question type.

Cronbach's alpha was used to estimate the internal-consistency reliability. For the tests on the first topic, *Lion Behavior*, a value of .34 was obtained. For the tests on the second topic, *Intervention*, a value of .40 was obtained. These reliability scores are much lower than expected. Mauchly's test of Sphericity was run, but no violation of the assumption of Sphericity was indicated. Table 3 presents the descriptive statistics for each of four groups.

Table 3. *Descriptive Statistics*

Group	Mean	SD	N
TT1QT1	3.66	.865	32
TT1QT2	2.78	1.263	32
TT2QT1	3.25	1.164	32
TT2QT2	2.44	1.435	32

Note. Maximum score = 5; TT = text type; QT = question type.

Table 4 shows the average means for each text type and question type. The average mean of TT1QT1 and TT1QT2 at 3.22 is greater than the average mean of TT2QT1 and TT2QT2, which is 2.85, showing that the participants performed better on TT1. The average mean of TT1QT1 and TT2QT1 at 3.46 is greater than the average mean of TT1QT2 and TT2QT2, which is 2.61. This greater average of mean scores on QT1 (MC) compared to the average mean scores of QT2 (OE) shows that the participants performed better on QT1. The greater average mean of scores on QT1 (MC) compared to the average mean of scores of QT2 (OE) shows that the participants performed better on QT1 (MC).

Table 4. *Means and Standard Deviation of Each TT and QT*

	QT1	QT2	Mean (SD)
TT1	3.66 (.865)	2.78 (1.263)	3.22 (1.064)
TT2	3.25 (1.164)	2.44 (1.435)	2.85 (1.300)
Mean (SD)	3.46 (1.015)	2.61 (1.349)	

Note. TT = text type; QT = question type; N=32.

In order to determine whether these differences were significant, the ANOVA results are summarized in Table 5. A two-way repeated-measures ANOVA was run to examine to see if significant differences between the text types or question types exist. As Table 5 shows, the results pointed to a non-significant main effect at the .05 level for text types ($F(1,31) = 2.74, p = .11$). The results pointed to a significant main effect at the .05 level for question types ($F(1,31) = 22.27, p < .01$). There was no significant interaction effect between text and question type ($F(1,31) = .03, p = .88$). The parallel lines in Figure 2 clearly show the non-significant main effect for the text type and the lack of interaction between text and question types.

Table 5. ANOVA on Test Scores: Tests of Within-Subjects Effects

Source	SS	Df	MS	F	P	η^2	power
Text	4.50	1.00	4.50	2.74	0.11	0.08	0.36
Error(Text)	51.00	31.00	1.65				
Question	22.78	1.00	22.78	22.27	0.00	0.42	1.00
Error (Question)	31.72	31.00	1.02				
Text * Question	3.16	1.00	3.16	0.03	0.88	0.00	0.05
Error (Text*Question)	38.47	31.00	1.24				

Note. * $p < .05$

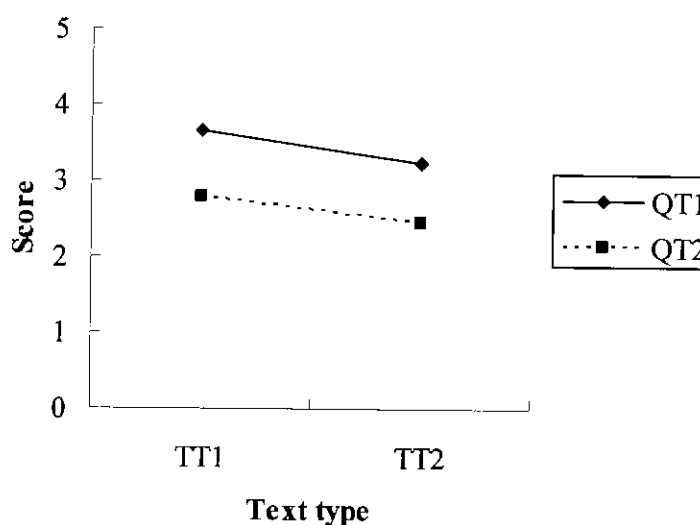


Figure 2. Means of listening comprehension test scores

The first hypothesis regarding the effects of text type was that the lecture (TT1) would be more comprehensible for the ESL learners because of its higher degree of orality compared to the narrative (TT2). The ANOVA results (Table 5) show a non-significant main effect for text type, indicating that the students' performance was not significantly different between the two text types. Thus, the results of this study do not confirm the first hypothesis. As can be seen by the eta squared value in Table 5, text type explains only 8% of the variance, which is low. This small effect size coupled with the rather small number of subjects and test items did not provide enough statistical power to generate a statistically significant result.

The second hypothesis regarding the effects of question type was that the MC type questions (QT1) would be more comprehensible than the OE type questions (QT2). The significant main effect for question type shown in the ANOVA results (Table 5) indicates that the students performed differently between the two question types; the students performed significantly better on MC questions (QT1) than on OE questions (QT2). As can be seen by the eta squared value in Table 5, question type explains 42% of the variance. A larger eta squared of question type resulted in greater power compared to text type even with the same number of students. The results of this study confirm the second hypothesis.

5.0. DISCUSSION

The results of this study show that text type does not have a significant main effect on listening comprehension, but question type does. One way to explain the non-significant effects between the text types is the difference in characteristics between spoken and written language discussed earlier. One of the differences between the two text types involved information flow devices or discourse markers. Lectures contains more features of spoken language, including information flow devices such as words like *OK*, *well*, *all right*, and *you know*; and disfluencies such as false starts, after-thoughts, and fumbling. However, these features are not perceived by the listener as linguistic errors, unless the speaker is inarticulate. The presence of oral features such as information flow devices in lecture texts may not enhance listening comprehension because they go unnoticed by the listener.

The lack of significance may be due to lack of power as indicated by the power statistics of .36 for the main effect due to text (see Table 5). A larger number of participants and more reliable measurement, including a greater number of items, could have provided a more powerful study that might have produced significant results here.

The results indicated a significant effect of question type. This significance may be due to the difference between item type of MC and OE, and not necessarily the type of questions (e.g., global vs. local). It may be the aforementioned characteristics of MC requiring recognition, and OE requiring recall that may have brought significant effect between the two question types.

6.0. LIMITATIONS

The tests had low reliability, and this may be due to the small number of items and participants as discussed earlier. Another significant factor may have been the participants' familiarity with the speaker of the narrative text. Some of the participants knew the narrator personally, and they appeared to be more attentive during the viewing of the narrative because they recognized the narrator. This may have raised the scores on the TT2 because of the higher degree of attention paid to TT2 than to TT1 by some of the participants, contributing to the non-significant effects of text type.

In this study, because the subjects' first languages varied, the responses were collected in English only since there were eight different native languages among the participants. Having to respond only in the second language may have affected the scores, especially the scores of OE questions. If the participants had been allowed to answer in their native language, the scores might have been higher, especially for OE questions, providing data that is closer to the true level of their comprehension.

Finally, in scoring the test, the answers were rated as either right or wrong, depending on the content only. No partial credits were given. For some of the OE questions, those students who may have understood some portions were not discriminated from those who understood none. Using a scale where points are decided based on the amount of correct details might help overcome this limitation (Thompson, 1995).

7.0. CONCLUSION

Understanding listening comprehension processes can be of value because it provides some insight into how comprehension takes place, which can shed some light on appropriate ways to help learners listen and comprehend (Flowerdew, 1994). Earlier, the construct of listening comprehension was discussed. Accumulating evidence for construct validity requires continuous testing of hypotheses.

Both in Shohamy and Inbar's study (1991) and this study, the hypotheses related to text type and question type were tested. In this study, text types of narrative and lecture were considered with the narrative containing more oral features, and the lecture containing more literate features. Although the text type effects were not significant, the mean score of lecture text was higher than that of the narrative text. No claim can be made at this point due to lack of significance; however, looking at the higher mean scores of the lecture text, a recommendation can be made. The sampling of only two text types covers a narrow genre of listening texts. A study using a wider variety of genres will provide results that better discriminate among students of different ability levels. It can be recommended to include a wider selection of genres in listening materials for learners of foreign/second languages in instruction and testing. This will not only give the learners more exposure to the target language, but it will also provide well-balanced instruction and testing.

For question types, significant effects were found in Shohamy and Inbar's study (1991), which compared global questions versus local questions. This study examined MC and OE questions, which involve recognition and recall respectively, and a significant effect was found. Question types involving recognition often lead to better performance due to its higher guessing probability, the process of elimination, and less need for memory search. Question types involving recall, on the other hand, can spread out the students according to their true level of proficiency. The results of both studies indicate that learners will perform differently on various test question types. These results should be considered and incorporated when writing listening comprehension tests, and it is probably important to include a variety of different types of assessment tasks. Further research on this topic with concurring results in various teaching situations will strengthen the findings, especially if conducted with fewer limitations. In ESL listening comprehension, the use of a wide range of genres as stimulus material as well as the use of a variety of question types are recommended for better testing and measures of comprehension.

WORKS CITED

- Berne, J. E. (1992). *The effect of text type, assessment task, and target language experience on foreign language learners' performance on listening comprehension tests*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Illinois, Urbana.
- Chaudron, C. (1983). Simplification of input: Topic and reinstatements and their effects on L2 learners' recognition and recall. *TESOL Quarterly*, 17, 437-458.
- Chiang, C. S., & Dunkel, P. (1992). The effect of speech modification, prior knowledge and listening proficiency on EFL lecture learning. *TESOL Quarterly*, 26, 345-374.
- DeCarrico, J., & Nattinger, J. R. (1988). Lexical phrases for the comprehension of academic lectures. *English for Specific Purposes*, 7, 91-102.
- Dunkel, P. (1991). Listening in the native and second/foreign language: Toward an integration of research and practice. *TESOL Quarterly*, 25, 431-457.
- Flowerdew, J. (1994). Research of relevance to second language lecture comprehension: An overview. In J. Flowerdew (Ed.), *Academic listening: Research perspectives* (pp. 7-29). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Harrison, C. (1980). *Readability in the classroom*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Herron, C. A., & Seay, I. (1991). The effect of authentic oral texts on student listening comprehension in the foreign language classroom. *Foreign Language Annals*, 24, 487-495.
- Loftus, G. R., & Loftus, E. F. (1976). *Human memory: The processing of information*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Mendelsohn, D. J. (1998). Teaching Listening. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 18, 81-101.
- Rost, M. (2002). *Teaching and researching listening*. London: Longman.
- Rubin, J. (1994). A review of second language listening comprehension research. *Modern Language Journal*, 78, 199-221.

- Shohamy, E., & Inbar, O. (1991). Validation of listening comprehension tests: The effect of text and question type. *Language Testing*, 8, 23–40.
- Tannen, D. (1985). Relative focus of involvement in oral and written discourse. In R. Olson, N. Torrance, & A. Hildyard (Eds.), *Literacy language and learning* (pp. 124–147). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Thompson, I. (1995). Assessment of second/foreign language listening comprehension. In D. J. Mendelsohn & J. A. Rubin (Eds.), *A guide for the teaching of second language listening* (pp. 31–58). San Diego, CA: Dominie Press.
- Vandergrift, L. (2004). Listening to learn or learning to listen? *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*. 24, 3–25.
- Wolvin, A. D., & Coakley, C. G. (1982). *Listening*. Dubuque, IA: W. C. Brown Company.

SOCIALIZATION INTO L2 ACADEMIC CULTURE THROUGH THE LEADING OF DISCUSSION CIRCLES

Ave Rannik, Department of Second Language Studies

ABSTRACT

The study looks at the academic experiences of twelve international students in an English for Academic Purposes listening and speaking course at the University of Hawai'i. It examines the difficulties discussion leaders encountered, and what they seemed to be learning. These issues were analyzed through the triangulation of students' writings, interviews, and informal communication. The main findings were that the students had several difficulties in the area of discussion management, and that participation in the discussion groups enabled them to realize that it is the cooperation between the leader and the members that truly facilitates discussion.

1.0. INTRODUCTION

During the panel discussion with professors at a Retreat of the Second Language Studies Department of the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa (UHM), a question concerning classroom participation came up. A student wanted to know what professors could do to help non-native English-speaking students (NNESs) to have more say in class discussions, because it seems that native English speakers (NESs) are the ones who usually talk the most. The professors on the panel gave good pieces of advice to teachers about ways to engage all students in one's classes and to provide everyone a chance to express their opinions. While professors and teachers do have a role to play in facilitating the access of (less vocal) NNES students to class discussion, it also seems to be the responsibility of students to make an effort to take the initiative and to become a more active participant in their classes. Active participation on the part of the students is important, especially in the U.S., since it appears to be a central characteristic of the North-American educational culture (Ballard, 1996; Holliday, 1997).

Students who go overseas to study at a university in the United States move not only to a foreign country, but also to a foreign educational culture which, depending on the students' home country, can be very different from the academic and classroom culture in which they grew up. The problem tends to be that typically, international students are not prepared for the educational as well as sociocultural changes. The students have usually taken formal language courses in their home country where they have (successfully) developed their writing, reading, speaking, and listening skills in the English language. Therefore, they may assume that these skills are sufficient for attaining academic success in their pursuit of education in English. Nevertheless, as Ballard (1996) points out, international students often experience difficulties despite their language abilities. The reason for this is that "[m]asked by language problems lie the much deeper problems of adjusting to a new intellectual culture, a new way of thinking and of processing knowledge to meet the expectations inherent in the Anglo educational system" (Ballard, 1996, p. 150).

One characteristic of the North-American intellectual culture is active student participation (Holliday, 1997). Holliday argues that this notion of participation is specific to a particular professional-academic culture, which he refers to as BANA (British, Australasian, and North-American). Students coming from countries outside the BANA circle to study at universities in Australia, Canada, Great Britain, New Zealand, and the USA may not be accustomed to the BANA educational culture or understand its rules. As a consequence, they may experience difficulties in achieving success in their studies despite having good English language skills. Therefore, it appears that in order to be successful in their studies, the non-BANA or NNES students need to learn the values that underlie and the rules that govern the classroom culture of the target country. In the process of learning these characteristics, the students will probably experience difficulties due to clash of values, appropriating identities, social relations, and ideologies (Willet, 1995).

2.0. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1. International Students' Needs

There have been various studies that have looked at the needs of English as a Second Language (ESL) students in the arena of English for Academic Purposes (EAP). Ferris and Tagg (1996a, 1996b) provide a substantial overview of research focusing on EAP surveys about academic oral and aural requirements. Ferris and Tagg (1996a, p. 51), citing Johns (1991, p. 72), state that "there has been a tendency for teachers and curriculum designers, especially 'general' English classes, to 'intuit' the needs and future language uses of students, rather than attempt to discover them". Therefore, they call for more studies that would describe and examine real-world academic tasks students in college and university classes have to perform in order to better equip EAP students.

Ferris and Tagg (1996a, 1996b) themselves conducted a survey to determine the academic oral communication skills subject-matter instructors expect their students to have or develop. They sent questionnaires to instructors at four different institutions of higher education in California. They (1996a) describe the institutions as follows: a large community college with a sizeable ESL population, a large public university that focuses primarily on undergraduate teaching, a large public university that focuses on research and graduate programs, and a large private school that emphasizes research and graduate programs. The respondents taught primarily graduate and upper-division courses. On the basis of the responses, Ferris and Tagg (1996a) drew the following conclusions with regard to listening and speaking tasks: the degree of interaction in respondents' classes varied across academic disciplines; and tasks such as in-class debates, student-led discussions, and out-of-class assignments which require interaction with native speakers seem to be quite uncommon in any discipline. Another observation was that the smaller the classes, the more interactive the tasks teachers tend to employ. Surprisingly, traditional formal speaking assignments (e.g., giving a prepared report/speech in front of the class) are not as common in subject-matter courses as people might think. Instead, the growing trend is to let students work in pairs or groups. It is worthwhile to bear in mind that these are general conclusions drawn on the basis of mainly upper-division and graduate courses, and that the academic oral communication needs of EAP students depend on the particular program, class, and instructor.

Just as important as describing and examining real-world academic tasks students encounter is to understand what perceptions students have of their academic aural and oral skills. Ferris (1998) argues that the reason for this is that instructors are not always aware of the struggles students have, that is, the tasks with which or the reasons why they have those difficulties. Ferris conducted a study to find out ESL students' perceptions of the aural/oral skills requirements in their subject-matter courses, and of their difficulties in meeting the expectations. The vast majority of the respondents were undergraduate immigrant students. The participants reported that they had most difficulty with oral presentations, whole-class discussions, and note taking. The tasks that seemed to be the least problematic were small-group discussions and class participation. Ferris compared her findings with those of Ferris and Tagg (1996a) to see the similarities and differences between the responses of students and instructors (both groups of respondents were from the same institutions). She found that the responses of the two groups did not overlap much.

Ferris (1998) discusses that the comparison of the two studies suggests that ESL students may know their academic weaknesses and difficulties relatively well, but they may not have an accurate sense of the importance of these problems. This finding seems to point to the constant need to examine the target academic contexts of ESL students so that EAP instructors could better prepare the students to adapt to the target learning culture.

Instead of taking adaptation as the best solution, some researchers have adopted a critical stance. For example, Benesh (1996) claims that although English for Academic Purposes is assumed to be guided by learner needs, the reality often is that the term actually refers to institutional demands that are mistaken for the desires of learners. She calls for critical needs analysis that would, on the one hand, acknowledge existing institutional forms and power relations, and on the other hand, attempt to find possibilities to change the 'system'. In other words, rather than generating suggestions for international students on how to best adapt to the academic culture of the target country, researchers should look for ways to challenge the traditional positioning of ESL students and help instructors to design activities that oppose the status quo in order to enable students to learn the skills and knowledge they really need.

The present study looks at the task of leading a discussion circle in an advanced listening and speaking course at the English Language Institute (ELI) at UHM. Although the research paper mainly describes and interprets the experiences of a group of international students, it also discusses some issues that might suggest a more critical analysis of the learners' needs.

2.2. General Framework

The general framework of the research paper is language socialization. During the past two decades, there have been several studies which have adopted this theoretical orientation (Duff, 2000, and Poole, 1992, cited in Kobayashi, 2003; Leki, 2001; Losey, 1995; Duff, 1995, Heath, 1983, Ochs, 1993, and Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986, cited in Morita, 2000; Morita, 2004; Narita, 1998; Siegal, 1996; Willet, 1995). Morita (2000) provides a straightforward definition of the term 'language socialization': "[it is] the process by which children and other newcomers to a social group become socialized into the group's culture through exposure to and engagement in language-mediated social activities." (p. 281) Kobayashi (2003) provides a similar definition, explaining that newcomers acquire linguistic and sociocultural knowledge through observation and participation in interactions in their new community "with the assistance of more experienced members" (p. 338).

One type of experienced members are the NES students who are the classmates of international students. For example, Morita (2000) studied discourse socialization of international graduate students majoring in teaching ESL and made comparisons with NES students. Leki (2001) looked at the academic socialization of two international undergraduate students through group work tasks with NES students. Although NESs are invaluable for novices in their language socialization process, newcomer-peers can be great assets as well. For example, Kobayashi's (2003) study clearly indicates that support from and collaboration with other novices can lead to successful participation in their target community. The present study also reveals the importance of ESL students' supportive cooperation for successful academic socialization.

As can be seen from the definitions provided above, language socialization does not happen by just being exposed to the target language. Instead, it requires participation in language-mediated events. Morita (2000) states that "participation in socioculturally organized, language-mediated activities is the key to the acquisition of both linguistic and sociocultural knowledge" (p. 281). Watson-Gegeo (2004), referring to the work Lave and Wenger (1991), explains that newcomers need to have participation in specific ways, "in expert performances of all knowledge skills, including language" (p. 341). Learners begin their language socialization process as peripheral participants, but with the help of active participation involving other actors, they become full participants.

The present study looks at the participation of twelve international students in discussion groups in their advanced ELI class. It analyzes the experiences of the leaders of the discussions, and the kind of support they received from their group members, all of whom are NNEs. Although the students participated in the task as rightful members, they can still be seen as 'wearing the shoes' of peripheral participants for the reason that the activity took place in an ELI class, not in a regular course (the 'real' academic context). Because the ELI class is a Credit/No-Credit course required for graduation, it may not be applied towards the requirement of an academic degree.

The goal of the present study is to better understand the academic socialization of international students at UHM through their participation in discussion groups, especially as a discussion group leader. The research questions that the study addresses are:

- What seem to be the biggest difficulties international students encounter in leading a discussion group? How do they cope? What difficulties result from the differences between the academic cultures in the students' home country and in the U.S.?
- How do they perceive discussion groups and the task of leading them?
- What are they learning in relation to this activity?

3.0. METHOD

To explore the research questions, I employed a qualitative-interpretive approach. Data were collected through four methods: (a) collection of students' reflective summaries on being a leader of a discussion group; (b) tape-recorded interviews with three students and casual conversations with the teacher; (c) class observation;

and (d) collections of relevant documents. The interpretations are based primarily on the reflective summaries of twelve discussion group leaders, and on interviews with three of them.¹

3.1. Setting, Participants, and Data Collection

The study was conducted in one of the listening and speaking courses at the ELI at UHM. Twenty-one students from various Asian countries were enrolled in that particular course. Twelve students consented to participate in the study, eight females and four males. They were mainly of Asian origin: four from Japan, three from China, three from Korea, one from India, and one from Micronesia. All of them were adults and advanced ESL learners who were taking regular courses at UHM as full-time undergraduate or graduate students. The instructor of the course was a graduate assistant like most other teachers employed in the ELI. At the time of the study, she was taking a graduate class with the researcher. She kindly opened her class to me to solicit for volunteers and was of invaluable help throughout the study.

The listening and speaking course the participants were taking was the most advanced class offered at ELI. When they passed the course, they did not have to take any supplemental ESL courses. The course had several aims. The two goals relevant to the present study are to help students improve their skills (1) as a discussion leader in a student-directed way, and (2) as an active participant in discussions (Instructor's course syllabus).

To attain these goals, each student had to prepare a topic for and lead a small group discussion twice a semester. The ELI class met three times a week: on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. The so-called Discussion Circles (DCs) took place on Mondays. The students first signed up for the dates they wanted to be a leader. By the Wednesday prior to their DC, the leaders chose a topic. The students had complete freedom as to which topic they could choose as long as it was academic and appropriate to discuss in class. On Friday, the teacher would introduce the topic and ask the rest of the class in which group they wanted to be for the following Monday. The DCs usually consisted of four persons: the leader and three members. There were typically five DCs taking place at the same time. When more than three people wanted to be in a group, some of them had to pick another topic and be the leader. The instructor graded the discussion leaders on the basis of five criteria: (1) preparation, (2) leading, (3) facilitation, (4) summary, and (5) self-reflection. To meet the last two criteria, the students had to write a brief summary of the discussion and reflect upon their experience as a leader.

The task of discussion circles was chosen for the reason that discussions seem to be very common in North American academic culture (Tse, 2000). The other reason was that each student had to lead a discussion group twice, which led me to assume that students' reflective writings would reveal whether and how they managed to apply what they had learned from their first experience.

Twenty reflective summaries were collected (twelve writings from the first round of DCs, eight from the second). The three tape-recorded interviews were conducted with three graduate volunteers, all of whom were males. The initial plan was to have interviews with any of the students who would be willing, but the instructor suggested focusing on graduate students for the reason that they are more likely to encounter DC type of tasks in their regular classes than undergraduates. The interviews lasted approximately twenty minutes. They concentrated on expanding some of the issues raised in the writings of those particular students, and on obtaining culture-specific interpretations of students' experiences. The informal interviews with the teacher were relatively short and were mainly about getting answers to the questions about the task and the ELI class in general. I also observed three classes devoted to discussion groups to get a general feel of the class. The classroom atmosphere seemed very friendly and lively. The collection of relevant documents included the course outline, handouts, and overhead transparencies concerning the discussion activity. These materials were useful to see what the students were required and advised to do. This enabled me to get a better understanding of their reflective writings, especially in terms of frequently mentioned issues.

4.0. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.1. Perceptions of Leading a Discussion Group

Although the teacher had not explicitly asked students to write about their perceptions, one can get a general impression of their attitudes toward the task by reading their summaries. In general, it seems that the students had positive perceptions of the discussion groups as well as leading them. It appears that the common factor in making the discussions pleasant and well perceived was good cooperation between the leaders and their DC members. For example, SN wrote that “[e]verybody was well prepared for the topic, so it was nice experience to share views and think of various terms and issues of the topic. Everybody enjoys discussion and really this topic stimulated us to think about environmental problems.” YS explained in her summary that “[e]ach member of the group contributes interesting opinions to the group and helped discussion more enjoyable and beneficial for each of us. TT, SW and DJ helped me to be successful as a leader.” YM wrote that “I tried to provide them several facts about my topic briefly at the beginning of our discussion. Fortunately they began to respond to my topic so I could be relaxed.” This shows that involving the members was not necessarily an easy task, but it was worth the effort and resulted in valuable experiences.

It seems that by being a leader of a DC, the students understood the value of group members, and that the key to a successful discussion is members’ willingness to cooperate with the leader by making an effort to share their views and opinions.

It appears that another reason for positive perceptions was that the task was quite stress-free and the class-environment friendly. I observed the DCs three times, and each of those times, the DCs seemed lively and friendly. SN summarized this issue nicely:

In ELI class especially I observed one thing—everybody was at same level, so everybody used to make mistakes, everybody used to make fun of others—something that this friendly activity was there—so everybody started involving in this discussion kind of activity. In regular class perhaps we may shy, I may get wrong—so something like that thing didn’t happen in ELI class—so that was a kind of open discussion kind of thing or this kind of group of friends we enjoyed in ELI class (interview, November 23, 2004).

Since the students were at the same language proficiency level, SN seemed to feel that even if at times he or his fellow ELI students were not understood, no one looked down on them, and that it did not harm their relationships with other group members. Based on this reflection, one can get the sense that in regular classes, the international students might want to participate more actively, but still remain fairly silent for the fear of making language mistakes and being misunderstood, and as a possible consequence, be remembered by their professors and fellow course mates as the confusing/confused foreigners.

It is interesting that the positive experiences did not result in complacency on the part of the leaders, but appeared to encourage them to learn to become a better leader. For example, YZ wrote: “We didn’t feel stressful or any nervous; and we agree with each other after questions and answers. It’s really a nice discussion, after this experience I will try to find more information on how to be a good discussion group leader.” This excerpt seems to reinforce the observation that the students enjoyed the discussion groups and leading them for the reason that there was a friendly atmosphere and DC members felt confident to share their views.

4.2. The Biggest Difficulties the Students Encountered

The main difficulties the leaders had concerned handling the discussions. It posed problems in three aspects: time-management, discussion topic, and members’ participation.

Time-management, although seemingly an easy task, proved to be a challenge for several students. The instructor also remarked that one of the difficulties her students encountered was covering all the questions the leaders had put forward within the time-limit. DJ commented in her summary on the issue of time-management in the following words: “Time controlling was not as easy as how I thought. It seemed like our group wanted to share more, but some struggled expressing their opinions into words. ... If we use time effectively then we will have more efficient discussion circle.” Another student, TI, wrote about two organizational matters that he did not pay initially attention to, and as a result, the discussion suffered. He explained:

First of all, I made a mistake not to decide who a time-keeper was. I did not make it clear who would be a recorder, either. ... As a result, our discussion had to stop halfway, right when our discussion became exciting. That was a technical mistakes of mine as a leader. I would like to improve this point next time.

TT's second reflective summary did not touch upon the issue of time. In the introductory paragraph he stated, "I think that my job was quite successful compared with the first one for the following reasons". The reasons he provided were the slightly controversial nature of the chosen topic ('What is beauty?'), which generated an interesting discussion, and the fact that they managed to reach a common agreement by the end of the discussion. Since he did not mention the issue of time, it may be assumed that he learned from his first experience and was able to manage time well the second time.

The second issue about which several students wrote concerned the discussion topic. The problem some students encountered was that the chosen topic was too broad. It seems that those students had hoped that without narrowing down their topic to specific issues, the members would have more freedom to pick an aspect that they would like to discuss, and as a result, would feel more interested in defending their position and contributing actively to the discussion. As it turned out, this strategy worked better in theory than in practice. As ARK noted in her summary about their discussion on 'The Future':

All I wanted to share was my imaginations. I thought it would be very fun. Indeed, it was very idealistic but the topic itself was too big to bring and sort out group member's opinions. When the topic itself is too big, all the members seemed at first lost what to talk first and hesitated to talk. After few minutes of talking, I realized that the discussion topic was too big. ... After a while, all got chatter and chatter and as the talking went on I found out once more that the topic is too big so we couldn't organize member's opinions.

Another student, TT, experimented having a discussion without any handout. Handouts were not a requirement, but students usually made them, since the teacher gave them bonus points for that kind of preparation. TT explained in her summary that "in order to obtain more broad ideas from my group members, I intentionally did not make any handouts this time". The resulting discussion did not seem to be successful, since TT wrote, "the test 'discussion without handout' was failure in my discussion because no specific information provided ahead leads the topic unclear."

The instructor commented that sometimes the students simply began chatting or failed to form a fruitful discussion because they had too much fun: "I wanted them to be academic and meaningful discussion." (personal communication, December 12, 2004) It seems that, in general, the discussions were meaningful. The problem sometimes was that the topics generated various opinions from which it was hard to choose one to consider at a deeper level.

Another difficulty the discussion leaders typically experienced was engaging discussion group members. A few students said that their classmates did not seem interested in the topic they had prepared for discussion. YM reflected in her summary:

My topic was "homeless" and my group seemed not interested in it because they did not choose it. However it was challenge for me because I had to think how I could involve them into discussion. I felt that I should prepare several interesting facts about homeless to catch their attention.

As explained above, sometimes the students could not join their first-preference DC because three students had already signed up for it. It seems that YM was having difficulty with students who had to choose her DC as a second choice. YM's summary reveals that she struggled with the involvement of the members throughout the discussion, but she succeeded in it: "Fortunately they began to response to my topic so I could be relaxed." In her second DC, she faced a similar challenge. She began her second summary with the following words: "Compared with last time, I can't feel that I could involve group members to discussion." She seemed to believe that the reason lies in her since she did not manage to do enough research on her topic. She concluded: "However, as I myself could not focus on a specific aspect of this topic, it must have made confuse them." SW was also struggling with engaging every member of her DC. She wrote:

After giving introduction of this topic, I wish every group members can give feedback, but the reaction of group members are different, some people can react actively, however, maybe one person look tired or idle, so how do you attract his attention depend on your communication skills.

It seems that students lacked motivation to participate. In general, students' writings suggest that they succeeded in engaging all the members. In contrast, there were some who had to deal with managing very active participants. YS wrote:

Comparing the first time of DC as a leader, it was much tougher for me to get 5 people talk equally in the discussion. I had to cut ARK's talk at the beginning of the discussion because I knew it was my job to navigate the group. But I really felt bad about what I did to her because she was just trying to help me and get discussion active. Maybe I could have done a better job if I could give more detailed, clear information about what the security does at the airport

It appears that YS felt that he could have done a better job with the help of better preparation. It seems that the discussion leaders generally ascribed the perceived difficulties or failures to their poor preparation or leading, not to the members. This seems to suggest that they were quite responsible leaders who looked for ways to improve themselves.

4.3. What are the Students Learning?

There were several recurrent issues students wrote about in their writings. One reason for this phenomenon is that the teacher had provided them with guidelines on what to write about in their reflective summaries. In general, the students followed the instructions. Based on these recurrent themes, one can get a glimpse into the students' academic socialization process.

4.3.1. Topic

It seems that through their task of leading a DC, they began to understand the importance of narrowing down a topic. For example, YM struggled with getting her group members involved because she thought that an interesting topic would generate a lively discussion in itself, but as it turned out, it did not. She wrote:

My topic was about "cosmetic (plastic) surgery" and I felt that this topic was interesting enough to discuss, however, it was not. For me, cosmetic surgery was the main thing so still I can't understand why they asked what main topic was. I guess if I did more research, I could have enough knowledge to find out specific aspect of this topic.

Several students remarked on the importance of asking specific questions to enhance the exchange of ideas. For example, YS wrote:

To make the discussion more active, I asked clear and specific questions to each member based on the material that I gave them. Also, I tried to provide questions that are interesting and fun to discuss for them. By doing that, I was able to facilitate the discussion group well, and was confident to be the leader of the group.

It seems that through participation in this activity, students began to realize the effectiveness of asking questions. Hopefully, they will transfer this observation to their regular classes and learn that one of the ways to become a more active participant in class discussions is to prepare questions to pose to their professors and/or fellow students.

4.3.2. Right to equal participation

As can be seen from the discussion above, the DC leaders sometimes struggled with getting all the members involved. In other words, they understood that it takes effort to generate a discussion. At the same time, the reflective summaries revealed that the leaders were not content with simply having a talkative group whose members were chatting away. Furthermore, they seemed to be fairly concerned about enabling each member to contribute equally. For example, DF concluded in her summary that her first discussion went well because "everyone was given chances to speak and point out their opinions". She was also satisfied with her second DC since "everyone shared their opinions".

In his interview, TI commented that in one of his discussion groups, he had a problem with a student who just kept talking. I asked him how he reacted, and he explained that he tried to stop that person from talking by asking other members for their opinions. He concluded:

But, uhm, I think, in my opinion, before participating, people should know the rule, for example, I don't know, the one talking should be finished within two minutes or something like that. Or the members should talk equally – that's discussion. (interview, November 23, 2004)

As can be seen from above, TI seemed very conscious of the fact that different students had a different conception of discussions. According to the instructor, before DCs began taking place, the class talked about the differences between, for example, a debate and a discussion. Yet, as it turns out, knowing the 'rules' of discussion does not always make it work in the ideal sense. Therefore, it seems that the discussion leaders had to learn to accommodate to the demands of the particular situation.

4.3.3. Preparation

Some students described what they did in preparation for the discussion and what strategies they planned to use to engage their classmates. For example, YS wrote that before his discussion on vegetarianism, he researched the positive and negative aspects of the topic in order to come up with fairly specific questions that would be interesting and fun to discuss. YM explained that she searched for interesting facts about the chosen topic in order to involve her group members in the discussion. It seems that the students were learning that leading is much more than doing most of the talk during the discussion and that it is about engaging every member in a subtle way. As ARK concluded in her summary:

But having all members' participations are one of leader's responsibilities that if one doesn't talk much, ask questions to have opinions. Being a leader is really hard at the point that I had to be well prepared and able to answer any questions they might have.

4.3.4. Reaching a conclusion

At one point, I noticed that many students seemed to be concerned with reaching a conclusion. Upon looking at the handout on the DCs provided by the instructor, I understood that they seemed to be following her instructions as the handout read "Write a brief summary (max. 1 page) on debate conclusion..." (Instructor's handout).

Some discussion leaders were able to state very explicitly what the conclusion of their exchange of ideas was, while others admitted that their group did not reach an agreement. It seems that those who did not reach a conclusion felt that they had somehow failed as discussion leaders. For example, DF wrote, "we had a great discussion only that we weren't able to point out our final decision on this topic". Analyzing his "misses as a discussion leader," TI states, "we did not have a time-keeper, we could not measure time, and finally we could not reach to a certain conclusion". Another student summarized her DC by writing, "in my group, three people supports pro and one person agrees with con. We did not get one conclusion...".

These examples seem to indicate that the students thought that one of the expectations of the instructor was that every discussion should end with a unanimous conclusion. The written and oral feedback provided by the teacher actually showed that reaching a definite conclusion was not a requirement. In her view, it was absolutely acceptable that the participants could not reach a definite agreement:

I reminded them that academic discussion, unlike business meeting etc., is not a place to reach a concrete conclusion or select the best solution or anything. It should be a place to freely exchange opinions and view points without being personally criticized. (personal communication, December 12, 2004)

In one of our casual conversations, the instructor explained that what she meant by the word 'conclusion' in the handout was the overall result of the discussion. She suggested that her students might have been overly worried with reaching a conclusion due to the fact that they come from cultures that place an emphasis on reaching an agreement by the end of discussions.

Based on their second reflective summaries, it seems that some students understood the instructor's expectations. For example, DF's second summary leaves the impression that although she did not agree with the opinion of some of her group members, she did not push them towards reaching a final decision. This seems to suggest that she had begun to understand that each issue has its positive and negative sides and that the goal of discussions is to exchange ideas rather than convince the other party to agree with one's opinion.

4.3.5. Cultural differences

The participants were mainly from Asian countries. It seems that through their participation in the DC activity, they were learning to understand (academic) cultural differences. The following insights were obtained from casual conversations with the instructor and the recorded interviews with the three graduate students.

The instructor made some general remarks about the cultural differences she had noticed. She said that the opinions of some of her Asian students tended to be either too general or personally attacking. She explained that sometimes the students would outright attack other people with their remarks instead of criticizing their ideas. The teacher also made the comment that one should not make any generalizations on the basis of this observation since it may be a personality issue. She told me that she explained to her students how to state their opinions, and ask questions and clarifications in an indirect manner. It seemed to her that some students understood these things while others did not. She also explained that she did not insist on changing their communicative style but trusted their good judgment. In her words, overall, the students cooperated well and the discussions were peaceful.

The three interviews with graduate students revealed some of their perceptions of cultural differences between the academic cultures in the U.S. and their home country. In his writing, YZ (a student from China) stated that "it seems to be easy to be a group leader, while it's not simple at all". I asked him for an explanation of this seemingly contradictory statement, and he told me that in his home country, they typically have leader-centered discussions. He thought that leading a discussion would be an easy task because he assumed that as a leader he can do most of the talking while the group members simply listen. Instead, he had to learn to lead in a different manner: "but while I practiced it, I found it's totally different. We need to have different opinions, and we should let them finish, and should exchange, and we should also keep the time" (interview, November 22, 2004).

Through being a DC leader, YZ seems to have understood one of the main points of (leading) discussions—to listen to and be open-minded about the opinions of all the members of a group. This observation seems to be in line with one of the expectations of the instructor. She expected that the students would learn to "appreciate different opinions without getting too personal, listen to others with balanced view" (personal communication, December 12, 2004).

In my interview with SN (a student from India), he emphasized the friendly attitude of professors at UHM. He said that in his regular classes, they regularly have open discussions where everyone can freely share their ideas or ask questions without appearing like an intruder. He explained that in his home country, this kind of open and friendly discussion happens rarely: "In general, this friendly atmosphere is not there. Means, if you try to involve in that particular discussion topic, it's assumed as a kind of interruption, something like that." SN's reflection might suggest that international students may need to reevaluate some of their beliefs about 'proper' classroom conduct—that expressing one's opinion or asking the professor is not seen as an interruption in the North-American academic culture.

The third interview was with TI, a student from Japan. He mentioned several times that American students are fairly talkative and aggressive. He maintained that "American students are so aggressive. They often during lectures, they raise their hand and they ask questions to professors". He explained that in Japan, students seem to be afraid of interrupting the flow of lectures by their questions or comments. Interestingly, this observation is rather similar to what SN remarked.

I asked the three interviewees what difficulties they have had in adjusting to the UHM academic culture with regard to their regular classes. YZ said that he is still in the process of learning the U.S. system, and noted that his lack of vocabulary poses several problems. In general, he was quite optimistic about his studies at UHM. He believes that he will gain more confidence to become an active participant in class discussions as he acquires more background knowledge. SN confided that for the first days at UH he used to be very shy and did not speak much because it took him some time to get used to the friendly and open class environment. He said, "afterwards, I started involving in these activities and my confidence boosted and then—now I'm used to this discussion kind of thing, so I don't face any problem." TI made only a brief comment that he would like to be a more active participant in class discussions, and that the main hindrance is his lack of fluency in English.

The three students all agreed that the ELI speaking and listening class had helped them in various ways, mainly because of the friendly atmosphere in which they did not have to worry much about their fluency since

their classmates were having the same difficulties. In addition to this, they benefited from having the chance to practice participating in a U.S. academic discussion.

5.0. CONCLUSION

This study attempted to yield a better understanding of the difficulties international students are facing in their process of socialization into North-American academic culture through leading discussion circles in an academic speaking and listening class. Drawing on the language socialization perspective, it examined the reflections of the students on their experiences. It was found that the students became socialized into their second language academic culture by support from and cooperation with their class members, and also by the help of their reflective writings, in which they analyzed their struggles.

It seems that by being a leader of a DC, the students understood the value of group members who are open to share their views and opinions. Leading a DC definitely helped the students to understand the role of a leader and what it takes to have a fruitful discussion. The participants seemed to be learning that it is the cooperation between the leader and the members that truly facilitates discussion. This might sound like common knowledge, yet it was learned through participation in the discussion groups.

The students' reflections also appear to suggest that through leading DCs, they were learning that each member of a discussion group has equal rights with others since these are accorded to them on the basis of their membership, not their cultural background or ability to formulate linguistically or semantically understandable comments. At the same time, the comments of some students suggested that despite their equal membership in regular classes, the international students sometimes still experience fears which seem to indicate that they feel less than 'full' members of those classes in comparison to their U.S. peers.

Some of the difficulties the students experienced seemed to result from differences between the academic cultures of their home country and the U.S. The reflections of the graduate students who were interviewed about the differences between the academic cultures in North-America and in their home countries suggested that international students may be dealing with the reevaluation of their beliefs about 'proper' classroom conduct. They seem to be learning to acknowledge that expressing one's opinions or asking questions during a class is not seen as an interruption in the North-American academic culture. This might appear like common knowledge, but the international students seem to be learning it through participation in their classes.

The pedagogical implication from the previous observations could be that professors need to consider ways to try to encourage the NNES students in their classes to speak up despite their lack of sufficient vocabulary—that it is their ideas that matter, not the linguistic aspects.

The present study looked at the issues discussed above through the triangulation of students' writings, interviews with three graduate students, and casual personal communication with the instructor. It was an interpretive-qualitative study concentrating on a rather small number of participants in a specific Academic English course. Therefore, it is worthwhile to bear in mind that one cannot make any wide-scale generalizations about international students on the basis of these findings.

As Morita (2000) notes, there has been relatively little research on academic socialization through oral practices. Together with Morita, I would like to call for further research examining various oral activities, especially group discussions, since they appear to be fairly common in North-American academic culture. In addition to this, they present a rich source of data for understanding the struggles international students go through while pursuing their academic goals.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank all the participants who kindly allowed me to use their writings, and devoted their time and energy for this study. I thank the English Language Institute of the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa for their approval to conduct research in one of their classes. I am very grateful to professor Lourdes Ortega for her encouragement and invaluable feedback, to my classmate Chiyo Mori for her constructive peer feedback, and to all my course mates for their support.

NOTES

1. In compliance with regulations at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, approval from the English Language Institute and clearance by the Institutional Review Board was obtained for this research. All participants were volunteers and signed informed consent.

WORKS CITED

- Ballard, B. (1996). Through language to learning: Preparing overseas students for study in Western universities. In H. Coleman (Ed.), *Society and the language classroom* (pp. 148–168). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Benesh, S. (1996). Needs analysis and curriculum development in EAP: An example of a critical approach. *TESOL Quarterly*, 30, 723–738.
- Duff, P. (1995). An ethnography of communication in immersion classrooms in Hungary. *TESOL Quarterly*, 29, 505–537.
- Duff, P. (2000). Repetition in foreign language classroom interaction. In J. K. Hall & L. S. Verplaetse (Eds.), *Second and foreign language learning through classroom interaction* (pp. 109–138). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Ferris, D., & Tagg, T. (1996a). Academic oral communication needs of EAP learners: What subject matter instructors actually require. *TESOL Quarterly*, 30, 31–55.
- Ferris, D., & Tagg, T. (1996b). Academic listening/speaking tasks for ESL students: Problems, suggestions, and implications. *TESOL Quarterly*, 30, 297–320.
- Ferris, D., & Tagg, T. (1998). Students' views of academic aural/oral skills: A comparative needs analysis. *TESOL Quarterly*, 32, 289–318.
- Heath, S. B. (1983). *Ways with words: Language, life and work in communities and classrooms*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Holliday, A. (1997). The politics of participation in international English language education. *System*, 25, 409–423.
- Instructor's course syllabus. (2004). Advanced listening and speaking class, English Language Institute, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.
- Instructor's handout. (2004). Advanced listening and speaking class, English Language Institute, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.
- Johns, A. M. (1991). English for specific purposes (ESP): Its history and contributions. In M. Celce-Murcia (Ed.), *Teaching English as a second or foreign language* (pp. 67–75). Boston: Heinle & Heinle.
- Kobayashi, M. (2003). The role of peer support in ESL students' accomplishment of oral academic tasks. *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, 59, 337–368.
- Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated cognition: Legitimate peripheral participation*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Leki, I. (2001). "A narrow thinking system": Nonnative-English-Speaking students in group projects across the curriculum. *TESOL Quarterly*, 35, 39–67.
- Losey, K. M. (1995). Gender and ethnicity as factors in the development of verbal skills in bilingual Mexican American women. *TESOL Quarterly*, 29, 635–661.
- Morita, N. (2000). Discourse socialization through oral classroom activities in a TESL graduate program. *TESOL Quarterly*, 34, 279–310.
- Morita, N. (2004). Negotiating Participation and Identity in Second Language Academic Communities. *TESOL Quarterly*, 38, 573–603.
- Narita, Y. Z. (1998). *Rethinking needs in an English Language Program: Three case studies in English for Academic Purposes*. Unpublished Scholarly Paper, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.
- Ochs, E. (1993). Constructing social identity: A language socialization perspective. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 26, 287–306.
- Poole, D. (1992). Language socialization in the second language classroom. *Language Learning*, 42, 593–616.
- Schieffelin, B. B., & Ochs, E. (1986). *Language socialization across cultures*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Siegal, M. (1996). The role of learner subjectivity in second language sociolinguistic competency: Western women learning Japanese. *Applied Linguistics*, 17, 356–382.
- Tse, L. (2000). Student perceptions of foreign language study: A qualitative analysis of foreign language autobiographies. *Modern Language Journal*, 84, 69–84.
- Watson-Gegeo, K. A. (2004). Mind, language and epistemology: Toward a language socialization paradigm for SLA. *Modern Language Journal*, 88, 331–350.

About the Contributors

Sumi Chang is a doctoral student in the East Asian Languages and Literatures Department of the University of Hawai'i, and she has been teaching Korean for the Department as well as for the Korean Flagship Program. Sumi has earned an M.A. in English as a Second Language from the University of Hawai'i, an M.A. in Counseling and Educational Psychology from Rhode Island College, and a B.A. in Political Science and Diplomacy from Yonsei University in Korea. Her research interests include Korean sociolinguistics and second language listening comprehension. She has also taught Advanced ESL Listening and Speaking in the English Language Institute at UH as a co-lead teacher, and also at the Summer English Program of UH Outreach College.

Jia-Yin Chen is currently enrolled in the Master program in the Department of Linguistics at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. She is interested in Chinese linguistics including Mandarin and the dialects spoken in Taiwan.

Hunter Hatfield is a doctoral student in Linguistics interested in the various ways that pitch and rhythm are manifested in speech, as well as their cognitive and biological bases. He has a Master's degree in philosophy and a B.A. in Asian Studies.

Kyuseek Hwang is a doctoral student in the Department of Linguistics at the University of Hawai'i. She has interests in syntax and semantics, especially as related to Korean, Japanese, and the Austronesian language family.

Josh Petitto is a Master's student in the Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures. He is completing his degree in the spring of 2005 and beginning his PhD program at the University of California at Berkeley in the fall.

Ave Rannik is a M.A. student at the Department of Second Language Studies at the University of Hawai'i, Mānoa. Her academic areas of interest are sociolinguistics, language socialization, pragmatics in language teaching, and cross-cultural differences. Besides being a student, she will be working as a graduate assistant at the Centre for Second Language Research at UHM (from Fall 2005). She is a Fulbright student as well as a recipient of the Alpha Delta Kappa International Teacher Education scholarship.

Keiko Shinozuka is an M.A. student in the Spanish Division of the Department of Languages and Literatures of Europe and the Americas. Her interests include flamenco and contemporary Spanish culture.

Jonathan Smith is an M.A. student in Chinese Literature, in the Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures.

Min-Young Son is a M.A. graduate student in the department of Second Language Studies. Before starting her study in the United States, she taught English in a junior high school in Korea for three and a half years. Her major academic interests include SLA pedagogy and teacher education.

Lina J. Terrell is a master's candidate in Japanese Historical Linguistics in the department of East Asian Languages and Literatures, UH. Her main interests include Ryukyuan, Eastern and Western Old Japanese, and modern dialects and dialectology, as well as the occasional foray into the literature of the classical period.

Elena Villa Fernandez de Castro is an M.A. student in the Spanish Division of the Department of Languages and Literatures of Europe and the Americas.

Pingli Wang is a M.A. student in the Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures. Her research areas are in syntax and pragmatics.

Yukiko Watanabe is a graduate student in the Department of Second Language Studies at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Her particular research interests are: working memory, second language processing, and

second language acquisition. Her six years of experience as an ESL instructor have also stimulated an interest in curriculum development and TBLT.

Now a PhD student in the Department of Linguistics, *Jincao Yu* has worked as an English instructor in China. She came to UH in 2002 and got her MA in ESL in 2004. Her major interests include Chinese linguistics, discourse analysis and sociolinguistics.

About the Editors

Hunter Hatfield is a Ph.D. student in the Department of Linguistics at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. He earned a BA in Asian Studies from Carleton College in Northfield, MN, as well as a MA in Philosophy from the University of Mississippi. His research interests include phonology, language acquisition, and cognitive science. He is particularly interested in the intersection of music and language and the neural underpinnings of each.

Annie Tremblay is a Ph.D. student in the Department of Second Language Studies at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. She graduated from the University of Ottawa with a BA in Second Language Teaching, a BA in Spanish, and an MA in Hispanic Linguistics. She is currently involved in research projects on the acquisition of phonology in L1 French and on sentence processing in L2 English.